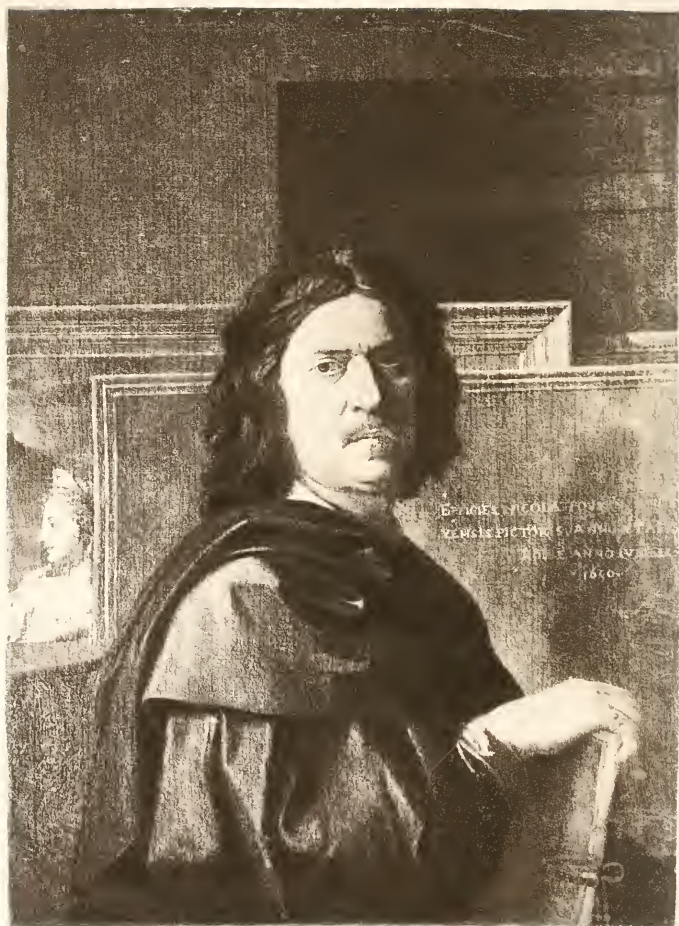


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NICOLAS POUSSIN



PORTRAIT OF NICOLAS POUSSIN.

*By Himself. In the Louvre. After a photograph by Braun, Clément et Cie
Dornach, Paris and New York.*

NICOLAS POUSSIN

HIS LIFE AND WORK

BY

ELIZABETH H. DENIO, PH.D.

WITH EIGHT PHOTOGRAVURES



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PREFACE

THE object of this monograph is to furnish a more complete account of the life and work of Nicolas Poussin than can be found in lexicons or the histories of art. No book about this painter existed in the German language before the appearance of a translation of the present work by the author; and Maria Graham's *Memoirs of the Life of Nicholas Poussin*, published in London in 1820, has hitherto been the only authority on this subject in English. The literature relating to the work of this master, which appeared in France in the first half of the present century, and before 1860, is voluminous, but inadequate to meet the wants of students of to-day. In such a study, the first teachers and the first works of this painter call for special attention. The account here given of Quentin Varin has been taken from papers delivered by the Abbé Requin and M. Jules Boulanger before societies in Avignon and Picardy, as well as from Ph. de Pointel's *Peintres provinciaux de l'ancienne France*, Paris, 1847. A liberal use has been made of the Poussin autograph-letters, preserved in the Bibliothèque Nationale at Paris, in order to gain a better acquaintance with the man himself. Poussin's works, as described in this book,

have been placed in well-defined periods and in their appropriate setting. The condition of art in Paris and Rome, in his age, the painter's friends and followers, have been dwelt upon only so far as seemed necessary for the history or for a better knowledge of this artist's studies, views, and influence. The design of this work is not to re-state old facts about Nicolas Poussin, as if they were newly discovered, but, if possible, to contribute some fresh material and to attain a juster standard, by which to measure his real worth and services. Within the space at command, the author has ventured upon an almost impossible task, in attempting to present a general survey as well as a detailed account, and in attempting to outline the development of a genius as well as the daily life of a man who was one of the greatest painters of Europe in the first half of the seventeenth century.

London,
July 1899.

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NICOLAS POUSSIN

CHAPTER I

EARLY LIFE, 1593—1624

Home, Family, Birth, and Childhood—Quentin Varin—
Poussin in Paris—Mural Painting in Grand Andely—
Philippe de Champaigne—Giovanni Batista Marino—"La
Mort de la Vierge."

ON the canvas of a portrait in the Louvre, at Paris, may be read these words—"Effigies Nicolai Puvssini Andelyensis pictoris. Anno aetatis 56. Romae Anno Jubilei 1650." It is evident from this inscription that the painter wished to be known to posterity as a native of Les Andelys in Normandy. The two towns, Petit-and Grand Andely, have together about six thousand inhabitants; the former is picturesquely situated on the right bank of the Seine, the latter is within three hours' ride of Paris by rail. Nicolas Poussin's birthplace

was at Villers, two miles and a half from Grand Andely. A lonely road leads to the top of a hill overlooking the Gambon river. One hundred and forty feet above the valley lies the tiny place, reached through a long avenue of stately poplars, whose grand proportions form a striking contrast to the little village. As seen from the height of the hill, the river and fields below stretch towards the horizon in severe but not inharmonious lines. The hamlet consists of low stone and plastered cottages, whose thatched roofs seem huddled together as if for warmth and protection from the sharp winds. One old gnarled pear-tree stands solitary in the meadow "clos Poussin,"¹ but not a trace remains of the foundations of the house in which the painter was born. Although three centuries have passed since the birth of this child at Villers, the place of his youth remains unchanged.

Nicolas Poussin belonged to an ancient family that came originally from Maine, but, in the sixteenth century, sent forth branches into the Soissonais and Normandy.² The ancestral home was probably the seigniory of Juigné on the Sarthe near Sablé. Gervais Poussin, the first lord of

¹ "Clos Poussin" is the property of M. Louis Passy of Gisors.

² Borel d'Hauterive, *Annuaire de la Noblesse de France et des Maisons Souveraines de l'Europe*. Paris, 1852, p. 220. Coll. Clairembault, Bibliot. Nat. Paris.

the name, lived about 1280. Those who followed him were renowned soldiers, councillors of the king, and treasurers of France. Jean Poussin, father of the great painter, took part in the civil and religious wars of his time, and, as a soldier, followed the fortunes of Henry of Navarre. After the battle of Ivry, March 14, 1590, Vernon, as well as other towns in Normandy, opened its gates to the victorious royal army, and among the officers left behind to guard the place was Jean Poussin.¹ The poverty of the king's treasury, during these unhappy years, obliged this soldier to meet all the expenses of his military life out of his own purse. In 1590 he found himself, as a result of this drain, greatly reduced in circumstances.² While garrisoned at Vernon, Jean Poussin married Marie Delaisement, widow of Claude Lemoine, a procurator of that town. Soon after this union, Jean moved, in 1592, to Villers, Marie Delaisement's birthplace. Little further information exists concerning Nicolas' parents.³ Jean and his wife appeared before a notary, September 29, 1616, to sign a deed of sale of twenty perches

¹ Brossard de Ruville, *Histoire de la Ville des Andelis*. Les Andelys, 1864, p. 418.

² Maria Graham, *Memoirs of Nicolas Poussin*. London, 1820, p. 4.

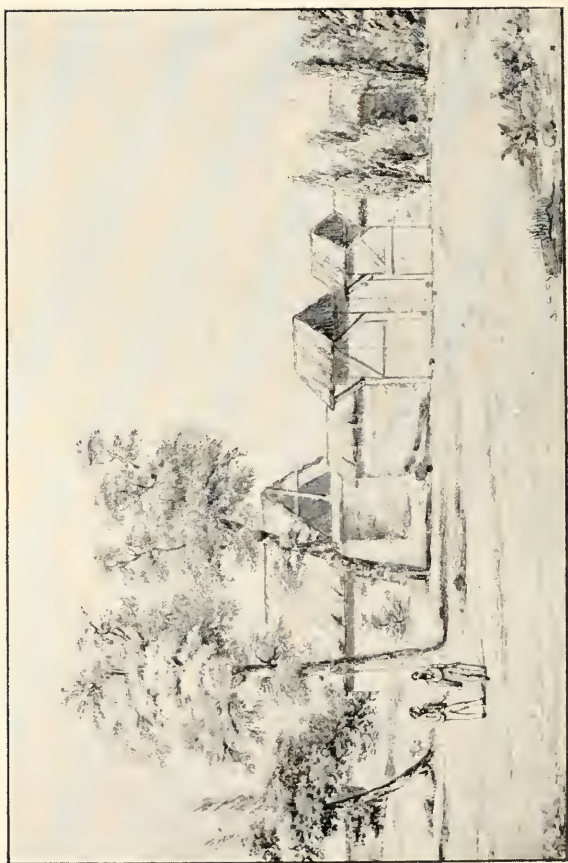
³ *Archives de l'art Française*. Paris, 1851, t. I. p. 5. Appendix, I.

of land to Nicolas Ferain, receiving in payment sixteen livres. The land sold belonged to Marie Delaisement. She could not write her name, so made her mark. Again, in March 1635, Nicolas' mother sold some land to her grandson, Nicolas Letellier; in the deed, she is called the widow of Jean Poussin.

From the appearance of the earliest biography to the latest contribution on this subject,¹ the statement is almost invariably made that Nicolas Poussin was born in the year 1594. Positive proofs, however, cannot be found for this date 1594. Bouchitté says²—"The acts of birth for the month of June 1594 are missing from the registers of Les Andelys." This is entirely true, but Bouchitté omits to state that No. 2 Inventaire Paroisse, Notre Dame, Naissances, gives no records for more than five years, from September 1589 to October 1594. So many leaves are gone that this little book is now but half the size of the other skin-covered volumes, kept in the town-hall at Grand Andely. The gap did not always exist. In 1812 the sub-prefect wrote a history of the

¹ G. P. Bellori, *Vite de' Pittori, etc.* Roma, 1728. Ph. de Chennevières, *Essais sur l'Histoire de la Peinture Française.* Paris, 1894.

² H. Bouchitté, *Le Poussin, sa vie et son oeuvre.* Paris, 1858, last page.



POUSSIN'S BIRTHPLACE

Villers, Grand Audely. From a drawing

place,¹ in which he states that Nicolas Poussin was born in a thatched cottage at Villers, June 15, 1593. Living in the town-hall, he had easy access to the archives, and, at the time he completed his book, the precious papers were in their place. During those troublous times in France, at the beginning of this century, many parish records, these among the number, were destroyed, while duplicates, deposited in the presidial bureau, were burned in 1859. Another writer,² in a somewhat florid description of the region, gives the same date for the birth of Nicolas Poussin. A third witness for the year 1593 is the painter himself. May 29, 1650, Poussin wrote from Rome³ to his patron Paul de Chantelou in Paris—"I have finished the portrait of myself which you desired." On the canvas he traced his age as fifty-six. He kept this painting some weeks, in order to make a copy for another friend, so the error of Bellori, Poussin's first biographer, is

¹ Marquis¹ de la Rochefould-Liancourt, *L'Histoire del' Arondissement des Andelis*. Les Andelys, 2e ed. 1853, p. 141.

² Charles Nodier, *Voyages pittoresques dans l'ancienne France*, 1825, t. II. p. 129. "On the back of the hill, near a little wood, Poussin was born June 15, 1593, in a thatched cottage of which no vestige remains. Skies, forests, and streams about Villers inspired his genius."

³ Quatremère de Quincy, *Collection des lettres de Nicolas Poussin*. Paris, 1824, p. 312.

easily understood if he saw this picture in the painter's atelier, and simply subtracted fifty-six from 1650. Additional evidence for the year 1593 is found in the mortuary act among the records of San Lorenzo in Lucina, Rome,¹ which states that Nicolas Poussin died November 19, 1665, at the age of seventy-two years.

Very little is known about the childhood of Nicolas Poussin. The visitor to Grand Andely may find in the noble Gothic church of that place a priest engaged in teaching a class of small boys the old lessons of faith and obedience, just as in the early years of Nicolas. So one can readily believe that a monk was this boy's first teacher, a man with little comprehension of his pupil's great gift.² The lad was often reprimanded for neglected tasks, when, instead of studying, he was busy in drawing pictures of objects around him on the pages of his books. Nicolas' evident talent and love of sketching led his parents to welcome the coming of Quentin Varin to Les Andelys, as an opportunity to secure for their son good instruction in painting. As Filippo Lippi watched Masaccio paint his frescoes in the Brancacci Chapel in Florence, so this boy found his way into the collegiate church where Quentin Varin was em-

¹ Appendix, VI.

² Maria Graham, p. 5.

ployed, and there had his first lessons in painting. Little has been published, as yet, in regard to Nicolas' first teacher. Space is here given to a consideration of Quentin Varin's life and work, partly because his paintings deserve more attention, but, more especially, because his instruction and example were important for the development of Poussin's genius.

Quentin Varin (Warin) was born in Beauvais (1570—1575), where he studied under a canon François Gaget.¹ Varin became an apprentice, April 19, 1597, for three years, to Pierre Duplan, a painter in Avignon.² According to the contract, he promised to serve his master faithfully in return for food, clothing, and instruction in painting. A picture has been discovered, in Avignon, which is signed on the back, "Varin pinxit 1600." From this place Varin went to Amiens, where his parents were living.³ Here he learned perspective from a Capuchin monk, Bonaventura, and here also he became acquainted with Antoinette Mareschal, whom he married in 1607. Of their four children, born in a house on rue Basse, near

¹ Ph. de Pointel, *Peintres provinciaux de l'ancienne France*. Paris, 1847, I. p. 217.

² Abbé Requin, *Réunion des Soc. des Beaux-Arts des départ.* Avignon, 1888, p. 346.

³ Henri Stein, *Revue de l'art Française*. Paris, 1889, p. 129.

Amiens Cathedral, Madeleine was the only one to inherit her father's talent. To support such a family, Varin sought employment in neighbouring towns. He reached Andely in 1610, and left three paintings there. In 1614 he worked at Abbeville, going to Paris two years later, where began his struggle for recognition. In 1617, however, he received the patronage of Marie dei Medici, and was employed at the Luxembourg palace, but fled from Paris during the following year, when a friend, who had written a satirical poem against the government, was seized and hung. In 1623 Varin ventured back, and was appointed court painter, holding the office four years, until the return of Simon Vouet. When Madeleine Varin took the vow as an Ursuline nun at Amiens, March 16, 1629, she declared herself the daughter of the deceased Quentin Varin, painter-in-ordinary to the king, and of Antoinette Mareschal, then living in rue Antoine, Paris.¹ Her grandfather promised the convent three paintings by the late sieur Varin, namely—a "Crucifixion," "The Three Maries," and a "Magdalene." A brief description of paintings at Grand Andely and in Paris may help to show this artist's choice and treatment of subjects. These

¹ Jules Boulanger, *Mémoires de la Société des Antiquaires de Picardie*. Paris, 1885, 3e série, t. VIII. p. 103.

pictures belong to his mature and late years, representing him at his best, and all dealing with themes taken either from the New Testament or the legendary history of the saints.

Two of the three pictures in Notre Dame, Grand Andely, are pendants to each other, the "Martyrdom of St. Clair" and the "Martyrdom of St. Vincent." They have a similar handling of the subject, and a like use of types and colours. Varin places in the corners of each painting minor incidents of the story. Seven scenes from the life of the Spanish deacon St. Vincent have been crowded into a space eight feet high by six feet wide. The artist fairly exhausts the realistic possibilities of each legend in the *rôles*, attitudes, and expressions of these saints and their tormentors. A Norman woman, wearing native dress, appears in St. Clair, but, in general, Varin follows Flemish types and traditions. This is chiefly seen in perspective and colour. The colours have grown dark, but they show a marked preference for green and red. His employment of light effects is worthy of notice in St. Vincent, in the scene where angels come to console the saint and fill the dungeon with an illumination that terrifies the guards. The centre picture, in particular, influenced Poussin's art in "St. Erasmus" (Vatican). St. Vincent lies extended over

a heated brazier; four executioners feed the flames and torment the victim. One tears open his breast with a red-hot iron, another sends a lance into his palpitating flesh. Dacian, on horseback, with two lictors as attendants, directs the punishment, while two soldiers from a little distance watch the proceedings. In the background are seen a river, a bridge, and some buildings. This painting is signed "Quentin Varin invenieb. et pingeb. 1612."

In the fifth chapel of the side aisle, on the right, above the altar, may be found "Regina Coeli," Quentin Varin's third painting in this church. The Virgin, adored by two angels, rises heavenward to be crowned by the Father and Son. Christ holds the cross of redemption. Above the crown is the mystic Dove. The Madonna is represented standing on the clouds, *en face*, with hands clasped, and looking upwards. Her angel attendants are given in profile—one prays, the other adores. Mary's red tunic and blue mantle, as first painted, had a luminous golden ground; this has faded to a pale lemon-coloured halo around and above her, where God-Father and the Son are enthroned. Dull reds, blues, and olive tints appear in the draperies of the angels. Ten little angels fill the lower half of the picture; they play on various instruments and chant "Regina

coeli, laetare, Alleluia." After viewing the horrors of the two martyrdoms, one can feel relief and take real pleasure in these groups, so full of life and grace. Flemish models have been followed in the Virgin's face, form, and ample draperies, but only a Frenchman could have made this concert of angels that suggest, in a slight degree, the lovely forms of Correggio's children. This painting is five feet high by three and a half wide, and is signed 1612.

For Anna of Austria, about 1624, Varin painted the "Presentation of Christ in the Temple," which is now in the chapel of the Catechism, St. Germain des Près, Paris. The enormous picture, five metres fifty-eight centimetres high, by three metres wide, hangs between two long windows that ordinarily give but scanty light to the room. This chapel is reached from the vestibule, and kept locked. After many efforts to find the picture, the author was, at last, admitted to this room, and allowed to examine the work. It is an ambitious production of the newly-appointed court-painter. In a lofty hall, whose wooden floor and rafters have little resemblance to temple architecture, stand, in the centre and foreground, the tall forms of Mary and Simeon. The Virgin is a blonde, with loosened golden hair, stately and gracious of form. She presents her child to

Simeon, who bends reverently to receive the Christ-infant. The old saint makes a grand appearance in his splendid red robe trimmed with fur. Joseph, half hidden behind Mary, carries the offering of doves. At the left of Simeon stands the prophetess Anna, who stretches out her arms as though she too would hold this Child. A group, consisting of a woman with two children, occupies the left-hand corner. In the background, six steps lead to an inner room, where a priest is seated. A master's brush is evident in the vigorous design and rich colour; the outcome, however, of all this art seems less individual than in the work of the Andely period. Varin is here a disciple of the Fontainebleau school, acquainted indeed with Italian painting, but at second hand. All his women have long, swan-like necks, and very long, tapering fingers. The "Presentation in the Temple" is called Varin's best work. It was, no doubt, much admired when first painted, and deserves a better place than the present position. On the great canvas are the royal escutcheon of the Queen-Mother, date and signature. "St. Charles Borromeo giving Alms to the Poor" is in St. Etienne du Mont, Paris. This painting is two metres high, by one metre twenty centimetres wide. St. Charles wears the full robes of a cardinal, he stands well in the foreground of a

church vestibule, and drops a coin into the uplifted, eager hands of a Raphaelesque boy, lying on the floor. Two beggars, in front, solicit alms; the one bending over the sprawling child is nearly nude. Modelling and foreshortening are both excellent, but the colours have darkened, and only on a bright day can all these figures be seen distinctly. At the rear of the porch wait four women, one of whom carries a baby in her arms. Interest centres in St. Charles, whose benignity and rich dress are in fine contrast with the ugly faces and rags of the beggars. To powerful colour and excellent design, Varin adds, in this work, marked realism. His production resembles in conception Murillo's "St. Elizabeth of Hungary," and "St. Thomas of Villanueva relieving the Poor" (Madrid). In this case, the painter follows the legend in general, but introduces features which show his interest in the expression of life and character. On a tablet between the feet of the child is the inscription: "Quintinus Varinus regius pictor, 1627." Even in the Andely period, Quentin Varin was an inventive artist of talent, careful in execution, and versed in the use of primitive colours. He taught Nicolas Poussin what he knew, and influenced the youth by his example and counsel to become a painter. Nicolas went to Paris in 1616, the same year that his teacher

left Amiens for the capital. In all probability¹ the two men met again, and Poussin continued to gain from the older artist.

Official painting in France, during the reign of Henry IV. and Marie dei Medici, resembled an imitation of Italian art, as taught by French and Flemish masters. Under later rulers, this composite influence lost its hold, to some extent, over the school of Fontainebleau. In the early part of the sixteenth century, Francis I., by removing his court to Paris (Fontainebleau), united the two native schools of Tours and Paris; at Tours national characteristics were modified by Italian influences, while, in Paris, Flemish standards prevailed. These early schools lead back in their history to artists who were illuminators. Flemish painters worked in all the cities of Northern France,² and also in some centres, as Bourges, Dijon, Lyons, Avignon, and Aix. Their pictures have truth to life, fine finish, and a use of colour hitherto unknown; but, also, realism, which is often lacking in spiritual force, and is exaggerated in expression. Flemish artists could not give the French school either strong inspiration or new

¹ Ph. de Chennevières, *Histoire de la Peinture Française*. Paris, 1894, p. 86.

² M. Deshaisnes, *Réunion des Soc. des Beaux-Arts*. Paris, 1892, p. 92.

life. They were so numerous and important, however, in Paris, that Henry IV. gave them a special permit to sell their pictures at the St. Germain fairs.¹ Marie dei Medici favoured both Flemish and Italian painters; she summoned Rubens, among others, to decorate her new palace, the Luxembourg, because of his Italianized style. Long residence in Italy had led Rubens to find inspiration in mythological-historical subjects, and he was great enough to use them without sacrificing individuality. Nicolas Poussin found on reaching Paris, in 1616, no native painters of merit, no one who was the superior of Quentin Varin. Martin Fréminet (1567—1619), a follower of Primaticcio (1504—1570), had left the city, and was then busy with the decoration of the chapel ceiling at Fontainebleau. His work, as seen in “Mercury ordering Aeneas to leave Dido” (Louvre), makes the fact evident that French painters, misled into a false way of imitating Italian masters, had lost almost all native characteristics. For some three months Poussin remained in the atelier of a portraitist, Ferdinand Van Elle, from Malines, and, for a short time, with George Lallemont of Nancy, a maker of designs for tapestries and so-called historical

¹ Ph. de Chennevières, p. 46.

pieces.¹ Both were mediocre painters; Van Elle taught Nicolas his way of applying colour after Flemish traditions, Lallemont a hasty fashion of execution. In the Dresden Gallery is a portrait, signed V. E., said to be a likeness of Poussin, made at this time, and ascribed to Ferdinand Van Elle. It is the earliest known portrait of the great master; a half-length, profile view, one hand resting on a book (engraved by L. Ferdinand). The Dresden work has been injured by restoration; the flesh tints are much too bright, and the expression about the mouth is different from that in the Louvre example.

Nicolas Poussin's first patron in Paris was Chevalier Henri Avice of Poitou,² an amateur who engraved two of the master's paintings: "Group of Five Children in a Forest chasing Butterflies" (Duke of Westminster, England), and "The Adoration of the Kings" (Louvre). In these plates, Avice is a good interpreter, especially skilful in rendering the play of the children.³ In execution they are not at all remarkable. Both are greyish-brown in tone (National Library, Paris). This chevalier introduced his friend to a mathematician

¹ Bouchitté, p. 10.

² *Archives de l'art Française*. Paris, 1751—1756, p. 249.

³ Georges Duplessis, *Histoire de la Gravure*. Paris, 1861, p. 388.

at court, named Courtois,¹ who lived in the Louvre and possessed a collection, containing engravings by Marc Antonio, after Raphael, Giulio Romano, and other masters. Poussin studied these prints, and copied several, and their influence became far-reaching; they strengthened his desire to visit Italy and see the originals, they gave him new subjects for pictures, furnished a standard of style, and opened a way to the knowledge of antique art. Avice soon wearied of court life,² and returned to Poitou, taking with him his *protégé*, to whom he promised good quarters and employment in the decoration of some rooms in his chateau. But the young nobleman's mother ruled the house; she had neither interest in her son's plans nor appreciation of Poussin's talent. When she insisted upon making Nicolas useful as a servant, he took leave, and defrayed expenses back to Paris by painting some landscapes for the owner of Château du Clisson on the Lower Loire; two pieces, "St. Charles Borromeo" and "St. Francis," for the Capuchins at Blois; and a "Bacchanal" for Count de Chiverny, whose chateau lies near Blois. These paintings have disappeared.

As Varin had led a roving life, so Nicolas Poussin earned his bread by his brush, from

¹ Bellori, p. 263.

² *Archives de l'art Française*, VI. p. 249.

Poitou to Paris, and, at a later period, on his way to Italy. There was nothing unusual in this. Painters in the seventeenth century, and still earlier, as skilled workmen, continually changed their residence, going where they could find occupation. Fatigue, poor food, and discouragement, incident to this journey, brought on an illness soon after Paris was reached. This led Nicolas to decide to go home to Villers, where he was cared for by his mother, and remained a year.¹ Did he paint anything during this period? In a house (Maison Hugonet) near the church in Grand Andely is a mural picture which has been attributed to Nicolas Poussin.² It is over a mantel-piece, and furnished with a projecting wooden frame, octagonal in shape. The colours are delicate, and the work looks unfinished, somewhat like a sketch. Five figures are seen in a landscape. Three little Loves precede a nude man, bearing an enormous vase, whose handle has the form of a serpent. The man is a giant, but bends under his great weight, and is glad to receive aid from a woman whose hands support the base of the urn. One Amor carries a triangle, another plays a flute, a third watches the vase in fear lest it fall. These forms

¹ Maria Graham, p. 10.

² E. Gandar, *Les Andelys et Nicolas Poussin*, p. 54.

have as an immediate background a tall, nearly lifeless tree. A river fills much of the middle distance ; beyond can be seen a castle, a winding road, and some hills. Mountains and clouds take up the remainder of the space. M. Curzon, who made a sketch of the painting, believed the landscape Italian in character.¹ The French critic, Jean Renouvier, ascribes it to Michel Dorigny. It seems, however, just such a romantic, ideal composition as Nicolas Poussin might have made in his youth. He had already essayed landscapes and a bacchanal on that trip from Poitou to Paris. Motives for satyrs, nymphs, and Loves he might easily have found in Marc Anton's engravings. This landscape looks neither quite Italian nor quite French, but more French than Italian. Such a motive as a nude satyr carrying a vase appears in "Landscape, Nymph, and Satyrs" (Cassel Gallery), and in "Noah's Thank-offering" (Dresden). Poussin has introduced a tall, nearly dead tree, or one with little foliage, in the "Rescue of Pyrrhus" and the "Faeliscian Schoolmaster" (Louvre). In *Charles Nodier's Voyages*, etc., p. 115, in an illustration of the ruins of Castle Gaillard, is a dead tree, similar to the one in this mural picture. This great Norman castle of Richard Coeur de Lion's time, now in ruins,

¹ E. Gandar, *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*. Paris, 1860, VII. p. 123.

stands on a hill near Petit Andely, a conspicuous object in the scene. By an effort of the imagination, one might call the castle in the fresco a restoration of Gaillard.

In 1620 the painter returned to Paris; during this year he made his first attempt to visit Italy. From Florence he turned back, probably for want of means.¹ For some time he wandered from place to place, and picked up a precarious living. In Lyons he was threatened with arrest for debt, but managed to meet the creditor's demands. He spent the single crown left in his purse that evening in a supper for himself and some companions. In this city he fell ill again,² and became so poor that he had to borrow money from a merchant, who supplied his need, on condition that he would paint a certain number of pieces. Poussin remained in Lyons some time to fulfil this engagement, and to earn money enough for the journey back to Paris. After his return, he applied himself with more ardour than ever to scientific studies, such as optics, perspective, and anatomy. In 1623 he found a refuge at the College of Laon in Paris, where he met Philippe de Champaigne, whom he had known in Lallemonet's studio.³ The

¹ Bouchitté, p. 19.

² Maria Graham, p. 13.

³ Bouchitté, p. 20.

Brabant artist was then twenty-one years of age. Both men worked under Nicolas Duchesne, first painter to Marie dei Medici, on the decoration of the Salle d'Or and the Oratory in the Luxembourg.¹ The chapel is a charming bit of seventeenth-century architecture, unspoiled, as yet, on the exterior, and restored, in the interior, somewhat in keeping with the first plan. Duchesne was a mediocre artist, and maltreated the painters whom he employed. Poussin and Champaigne soon left such an impossible master, the latter returning to his home in Brussels, where he remained until he was recalled in 1627 to be the director at the Luxembourg, after the death of Duchesne. Champaigne worked chiefly for his friends at the Port Royal convent. He became a foundation member of the French Academy in 1648, where he served as a professor and director. His religious and historical works may awaken little interest, but as a portraitist, Champaigne has solid virtues; power to grasp personality and secure an excellent likeness, combined with a remarkable use of blacks, whites, and carnations. "Cardinal Richelieu" (National Gallery, London) and "The Three Nuns" (Louvre) illustrate his portrait style. Champaigne admired Poussin, and defended his methods. At a session of the Academy,

¹ Alphonse de Gisors, *Le Palais du Luxembourg*. Paris, 1847.

January 7, 1668, Minister Colbert presiding, Champaigne discoursed upon the merits of his friend's painting, "Rebecca and Eliezer" (Louvre).¹ His main points were : (a) the story is plain and faithful to history, the eye is directed to the principal persons, and their attitudes and gestures correspond to character ; (b) the arrangement of groups is as natural as possible, with imitation of antique and oriental draperies, and rejection of unnecessary details ; (c) the colour is good, light and shade are well distributed, and the artist has given a poetical interpretation. No doubt Nicolas Poussin received benefit from association, even for a short time, with such a man, so earnest in character, so thoroughly equipped as an artist. This can be seen in the few portraits he painted. Philippe de Champaigne's portrait of himself (engraved by E. Edelinck) resembles Poussin's in the Louvre, in being a half-length ; there is a similar arrangement in both, of the mantle thrown over the right shoulder, and the same position is given to the heads.

In conformity with an edict of Pope Gregory XV., the Jesuits, in 1623, celebrated the canonization of Ignatius Loyola and Francis Xavier ;² the

¹ *Mémoires inédits sur la vie et les ouvrages des Membres de l'Académie Royale de Peinture et de Sculpture*. Paris, 1854, p. 245.

² Bellori, p. 264.

one the founder, the other the most illustrious saint of their order. Their followers in Paris desired pictures for the fête, representations of miracles performed by these saints. Poussin received a commission for six water-colours, and finished them in about as many days. They have disappeared. Among those attracted by this work to the artist¹ was a poet, Giovanni Batista Marino, born in Naples in 1569. After many adventures, Marino left Italy, and sought the court of Marie dei Medici, who received him with favour, and granted him a salary of fifteen hundred crowns. The third great factor in Nicolas Poussin's artistic development was his friendship with Marino. This must rank next in importance after the instruction of Quentin Varin, and the study of Marc Anton's prints. The poet helped the painter to a better knowledge of literature and mythology.² He fitted up a room in his apartments, at Paris, for his young friend, and liked to see Poussin at work, while he read aloud from favourite authors or from his own poems.

Bellori relates (page 264) that the painter made some designs for Marino's poem *Adonis*, and that

¹ Bouchitté, p. 25. (Engraved by Hermann van Swanevelt. Six prints illustrate the history of Adonis. Kupferstich Cabinet, Berlin.)

² Maria Graham, p. 21.

these were preserved in the library of Cardinal Massimi at Rome.¹ *Adonis* was published in Turin, in 1623, in two volumes of twenty cantos, with a dedication to the queen. The work was highly praised in Italy and France, and, in 1662, a certain President Nicole translated the first canto, one stanza of which is here given :

“Cependant du Soleil la lumière mourante
Seme dans l’Univers le deuil, l’ombre, et la nuit ;
Ses Cheaux dégoutans d’une écume fumante
Abisement sous les flots et le jour et le bruit ;
Thétis qui les reçoit fortans de leur carrière,
Les répaist de nectar, leur abat la poussière,
Et d’un bain préparé rafraichot leur chaleurs ;
Et leur brillant cocher qui fait le tour du monde,
Aussi bien qu’ Adonis va reposer sous l’onde,
L’un sur lit de nacre, et l’autre sur les fleurs.”²

Adonis is weak in invention, style, and

¹ This library was sold many, many years since, not as a whole, but here and there. Some small portions, remaining with members of the family, have been gathered into the library of the Massimi family. Prince Massimi has looked through this library, but cannot find the work mentioned by Bellori. Search in other libraries, in Rome, has been, hitherto, without success.

² While the expiring light of the sun disseminates mourning, shadow, and night throughout the universe, his dripping horses, reeking with foam, bury both the day and its noise beneath the waves. Thetis who receives them, wearied from their course, gives them a repast of nectar and removes their dust ; a prepared bath refreshes them after the heat ; their brilliant driver who makes the round of the world, as well as Adonis, go to rest, the one on a bed of mother of pearl, the other on flowers.

contents, tiresome in length ; its popularity only comprehensible to one familiar with the literature and taste of the period. Cavalier Marino returned to Rome in 1624, on the election of Pope Urban VIII., from whom he looked for patronage. He became in Rome prince of the *Accademia di Umoresti* ; in Naples, he received flattering attentions from the Duke of Alba, and enjoyed the reputation of being the most noted Italian poet of his time. His letters and writings mention many artists and their productions, but do not include the name of Nicolas Poussin.¹ This poet had a small collection of paintings, and among the "names of the artists whose works Il Cav. Marino had chosen for his gallery" appear Giacomo Palma, Annibale Carracci, Guido Reni, Cristoforo Bronzino, Antonio Tempesta, and Giovanni Lanfranco. His letters are undated, and addressed from Turin, Rome, Naples, and Paris, to different friends. There are many allusions to his poetical efforts, but nowhere any notice of designs for *Adonis* by Poussin. Both the Italian and French editions are without illustrations. Marino writes from Paris to Signor Battista Ciotti (page 133) : "A large portion of *Adonis* has already been printed. It has turned

¹ *Rime de G. B. Marino*. Venice, 1620. *La Galeria de Marino*. Venice, 1620. *Lettere gravi*, Venetia, 1628.

out splendidly, worthy of a royal poem. The volume will have about three hundred pages ; according to the reckoning, it will be seven sheets larger than Tasso's *Jerusalem*."

Cavalier Marino wished to take his friend with him to Rome,¹ but the painter was detained in Paris some months, by a commission to make a votive First of May picture for a chapel in Notre Dame, Paris. "La Mort de la Vierge" by Nicolas Poussin belonged to a series (1608—1629) of paintings representing the Virgin's life. The first set went into chapels of this church ; the later, larger pictures into the nave.² Until the end of the eighteenth century, Poussin's "Death of the Virgin" remained one of the curiosities of Notre Dame. It then disappeared ; often since has the question been asked, what has become of this work ? Must one despair of ever finding it ? A description of this picture runs thus :³

"In 1761, the chapel of St. Geraud, Baron d'Aurillac, was restored. Its altar-piece represented the Virgin's death ; one saw at her side a prelate, François de Gondi, first archbishop of Paris, who

¹ Bouchitté, p. 33.

² Ph. de Chennevières, p. 87.

³ C. P. Gueffier, *Description historique des Curiosités de l'église de Paris*. Paris, 1763, p. 159.

commissioned this painting in 1623, from Nicolas Poussin, before his journey to Italy. It is highly esteemed by connoisseurs, and although it does not have the full force of that skilful artist, has always been regarded as a beautiful prelude of the manner which has made him the ablest painter of his age.”¹ Pictures, like persons, wander from their original places, and have strange histories. It is presumptuous to assert that nothing now exists of Nicolas Poussin’s early work, before he went to Rome. In a private collection, in Berlin (Frau Wesendonek), is a painting called “The Death of the Virgin” attributed to Nicolas Poussin. Repeated examination of this picture, and comparison of it with authentic works by Poussin, seem to render probable the conclusion that this is no copy, but a genuine production of the master, perhaps the missing treasure. Its small size presents no difficulty; the painting is nearly as large as Quentin Varin’s “Assumption” at Grand Andely, and it is known that the first May pictures were of small dimensions. About the bed on which the dying Virgin lies are ten men, the apostles, five on

¹ *Bulletin archéologique publié par le comité historique des arts et monuments*. Alex. Lenoir, Paris, 1845, t. III. p. 290, No. 103, Nôtre Dame, “La Mort de la Vierge,” Nicolas Poussin. Première manière de ce peintre.

each side, in groups of twos and threes. At Mary's right hand stands a man who holds a lighted candle. Behind him is another, with hands clasped as if in prayer. In front sits a disciple who is reading from a large book. Two men kneel at the foot of the bed, Mary extends her right hand towards the one nearest her, the other reads from a small book. On the opposite side of the bed kneel two apostles in prayer. One of the three men, standing in the background, has a hand on the curtain hanging behind the bed, a second watches in sorrow the Virgin's face, while a third disciple stands lost in sad thoughts, his head inclined and hand grasping beard. Can this man represent François de Gondi? At the back of the room, on the left, one sees a door where two women are waiting; a man comes in bringing candles. On the floor, in front, lie more candles, and near by is a censer. This composition seems, in spirit, essentially Roman Catholic and French, although the men wear neither modern nor ecclesiastical dress, but classical draperies. In this picture, colour, antique costume, arrangement in groups, the curtain, and, at least one figure, are noticeable Poussinesque features. The painter had a marked liking for yellow; some shade of this colour can be seen in the dress of half of the

persons present. A curtain, behind a bed or couch and a man holding it back belong to the paintings, "Death of Germanicus" (Barberini Palace, Rome) and "Extreme Unction" (first series of Seven Sacraments). A man with a tall lighted candle is in the last-named picture. A man, standing in thoughtful attitude, with hand grasping beard, can be found in "John baptizing in the Jordan" (Louvre), and in "Baptism" (second set of the Seven Sacraments). This figure is a study after Raphael. It appears in Raphael's "Adoration of the Kings" (in the second set of Vatican tapestries), and in his "St. Cecilia" at Bologna. Why should not Poussin take from another master a figure that suited well his composition? The great Italian painter, from whom he borrowed, had perhaps found his motive in Leonardo's "Adoration of the Magi" (Uffizi Gallery, Florence). Both men may have felt in this special creation, the inspiration of Michael Angelo. Provided a man be great enough, he may safely borrow; does so, at times, unconsciously. This sort of taking from others is not plagiarism, because each genius gives a personal stamp to his production. Nicolas Poussin had wasted no time in the development of his gift before he reached Rome, in 1624. Travel from city to city in France, study under

Flemish and French artists, acquaintance with courtiers, amateurs, and an Italian poet, as well as opportunity to test his skill upon important commissions, combined to make no inadequate preparation for a larger life in Rome.

CHAPTER II

RESIDENCE AND ACTIVITY IN ROME, 1624—1640

Friends and Studies—Domenico Zampieri—"The Death of St. Cecilia"—Commissions from Cardinal Barberini—Illustrations for the *Trattato della Pittura*—The Firmin-Didot Manuscript—Cassiano Del Pozzo—Illness and Marriage—Works executed between 1630—1640.

ON his arrival in the Eternal City, Nicolas Poussin received a hearty welcome from Marino, but the poet was too ill to do much for his friend.¹ However, before Marino left Rome for his home in Naples, where he died the next year, he introduced the young painter to Cardinal Francesco Barberini. This prelate, from whom the poet hoped to secure protection and encouragement for Poussin, soon departed on important embassies as papal legate, first to France in 1624, and a year later to Spain. Thus left a stranger in a strange land, Nicolas knew privations, and was glad in his distress to sell two battle-pieces "à la Salvator

¹ Bellori, p. 265.

Rosa " for fourteen crowns, and a " Prophet " for two crowns. These " pot-boilers " have disappeared, and no further description of the pictures can be found. The painter's first acquaintance among the artists in Rome was François du Quesnoy (1594—1642). This Flemish sculptor had been sent to Italy by Archduke Albert of the Netherlands, but with the Regent's death his pension ceased, and he was left poor in Rome. Poussin and Du Quesnoy soon arranged to exchange studies ; they shared the same dwelling, and, later on, associated with themselves a Bolognese sculptor, Alessandro Algardi. Under direction from these friends,¹ Nicolas made measurements of statues, and modelled after ancient bas-reliefs. From all accounts of his life, he must have been, at this time, most industrious. He made drawings of mosaics in Roman churches ; for instance, those in San Pudenziana, sketches of figures on the walls of catacombs, some studies of ruins and ancient sculptures, all of which furnished abundant material for his future use. In the libraries of San Silvester and the Barberini Palace the painter found and read the writings of Matteo Zoccolini, Vitruvius, Alberti, Da Vinci, and other artists.

In the Doria Gallery at Rome hangs Nicolas

¹ Bouchitté, p. 35.

Poussin's copy of the "Noces Aldobrandini" (Mus. of Christian Antiquities, Vatican). The so-called "Aldobrandini Nuptials" found in Rome in 1606, near the Arch of Gallienus, and named after its first owner, is considered one of the finest ancient pictures in existence. This fresco resembles a frieze, and contains ten figures arranged in three groups. In the centre on the couch is seated the veiled bride, beside her is a woman partially draped and garlanded. A second attendant stands near, holding in readiness a bottle of ointment and a bowl. The bridegroom, also with head wreathed, and the upper part of his body undraped, waits at the head of the couch on the threshold of a room, no doubt the nuptial chamber. In a room on the left, three women are preparing the bath. In another division, on the opposite side, is a second group of three attendants, who offer a sacrifice with songs and lute-playing. The rooms are indicated simply by screens. In execution this work is not remarkable ; it shows the methods in use among Roman house-decorators in treating such themes. Poussin's copy has the length of the original, but is higher. He keeps the same groups and same action. Increase of height and a suggestion of sky above, the rooms being without a roof, help to make the picture look less like a relief. Every detail of attitude, drapery, and

expression, has been rendered so faithfully that this painting is a great success. Greater skill in execution and more refinement of form, in the copy, lend added grace in each figure. Perhaps Poussin has slightly altered the naïve expression in the faces of the chief persons, but even in these one finds the unstudied sincerity of the fresco. The charm of soft, harmonious colour resembling that of a pastel, the general tone being bluish-grey, belongs to the old picture. Poussin's colours have darkened, his shadows are too prominent, and violet shades in the garments of bride and groom have now taken on greyish-black hues. All these studies on the part of the painter meant, for him, taking notes of observation. Not by slavish copying could Nicolas Poussin become "a painter for sculptors."¹ In the great collections of Villa Ludovisi,² Poussin and Du Quesnoy discovered a rich mine. They were especially attracted there to a painting, by Titian, "Homage to Fecundity" (now in the Prado Gallery, Madrid), and they modelled groups of Cupids after those in this picture. Du Quesnoy's ivory reliefs of children at play are exquisitely beautiful. Poussin's "Children at Play" (Grosvenor House,

¹ Maria Graham, p. 30.

² G. B. Passeri, *Vite de Pittori Scultori ed Architetti*. Roma, 1777, p. 348.

London), the "Concert" (Louvre), and Loves in various Bacchanals come as a direct following after Titian. No wonder that this multitude of delightful babies in their irresistible fun and frolic should have made a lasting impression upon the younger painter.

Bellori says¹ that Nicolas Poussin naturally frequented Domenichino's academy in Rome. From the day when he took a prize for drawing at Bologna,² Domenico Zampieri had gone on to perfect his art after the teachings of the Carracci. Ludovico Carracci and his cousins Agostino and Annibale Carracci, founders of the School of Bologna, deserve much praise as industrious, sincere painters. They travelled from city to city in Italy, studied the great masters, and believed by adopting the best qualities in their art, they could bring about a reform. But the creative power in artists at the end of the sixteenth century had become exhausted, and no fusion of different styles, after set formulas, could take place or meet the need. Even masterpieces like Guido Reni's "Aurora," Volterra's "Deposition," and Domenichino's "Communion of St. Jerome," call forth more admiration than personal interest. When

¹ Bellori, p. 266.

² Adolfo Venturi in *La Vita Italiana nel Seicento*. Milano, 1895, III. p. 361.

most persons in the artistic world of Rome admired Guido Reni, Poussin championed Domenichino. Guido was no mystic. His "Ecce Homo" and "Christ on the Cross" suffer in a refined way. Such subjects offered him a good opportunity for the display of technical accomplishments; he leaves out the tragedy, the solemn reality of the passion. It would have been impossible for him to treat the Passion of Christ after the manner of Albert Dürer. Guido's style is seen in his St. Sebastian figures, and in angels with long curling hair, alabaster-like flesh, luminous draperies, and a Niobe type of face with eyes turned upwards. The younger painters in Rome at this time copied¹ Reni's "St. Andrew on the Way to Execution" (SS. Gregorio Magno, Rome), but Poussin singled out Domenichino's "Flagellation of St. Andrew," in the same church, and pronounced it the superior work. "The Communion of St. Jerome" (now in the Vatican) had been taken down from its place in S. Girolamo della Carità and relegated to a loft.² The monks, wishing a new altar-piece, sent the picture to Poussin as an old canvas on which he could paint. But he discovered the painting's great merit, and made it the subject of a public talk, in which he compared the "Communion of St. Jerome" with

¹ Bouchitté, p. 57.

² Maria Graham, p. 33.

Raphael's "Transfiguration," and Volterra's "Deposition," and declared these to be three great masterpieces of the Roman school. In reply to criticism that Domenichino had borrowed this subject, Poussin said one could not condemn him, since he had so greatly improved upon Agostino Carracci's composition of like name. Amidst the factions and jealousies then prevalent amongst artists, Poussin, by his prudence, kept out of all quarrels. Cardinal Montalte restrained both parties, but, after his death, Cardinal del Monte favoured the enemies of Domenichino. Nature and previous training inclined Nicolas Poussin to like Domenichino's learning, displayed in orderly arrangement, careful execution, severe drawing, and skilfully-planned contrasts. As a man, Domenico Zampieri was modest, retiring, and somewhat suspicious. He sought out Poussin, on hearing that a young man praised and copied his work, and gave him his friendship. In 1630 he was called to Naples to decorate a chapel in the cathedral ; in this city he died, it is supposed of poison, in 1641, at sixty years of age. In the atelier of this master in Rome, Nicolas drew from the nude, studied contours, and the play of muscles. Domenichino's influence on Poussin's style may be seen in sacred compositions, landscapes, and some details. In the following subjects which the two have in common,

it seems probable that Poussin received help from the older artist :—"The Triumph of David"; "Time and Truth"; "The Flight into Egypt"; "The Vision of St. Paul"; "The Assumption of the Virgin"; "The Death of St. Cecilia"; and "Esther before Ahasuerus."

"The Death of St. Cecilia," by Domenichino, is in S. Luigi church in Rome (engraved by Domenico Cunego, 1772). The picture represents this Roman saint and noble lady in a room of her house, to which she has been brought, nearly dead from wounds on neck and breast, inflicted in her torture. She lies on a low platform in the centre of the hall, with her head on a block, right hand on breast, left arm hanging at her side, and feet drawn up in pain. Her eyes are open, and directed to the cross held up by St. Urban. She is surrounded by attendants and Christian converts. An angel bearing a palm branch and a crown, hovers over her head. The artist has arranged the spectators in three groups of four persons each, and two servants, of whom one carries a jug of water, while the other wipes blood from the floor. In niches about the room stand six statues. In Poussin's composition of like name (Montpellier Museum, France), the hall is larger, and has architectural decoration of a baroque character. St. Cecilia lies on a fine tessellated pavement, with

head slightly raised and limbs disposed in an easy position. The attendants and other persons about her form two general groups. On the right stand St. Urban and a servant. A woman in front of these figures kneels near the saint. Behind her, at the left, are two women, one with a child in her arms, and a man. In the foreground, with his back to the spectator, is a man who seems to be the executioner or the one who has just brought the saint home. At the rear of the hall stands a woman near a tall, beautiful vase. Two women bend over the saint and wipe blood from her neck, while two others quietly and sadly watch the scene. St. Cecilia's eyes are closed, she seems dead. An angel comes into the room, bringing the trophies. In no other painting by Nicolas Poussin, except the "*Aldobrandini Nuptials*," can one speak of his copying to such an extent the entire work of another artist. In the details, however, there is a great difference between the two pictures. Richer surroundings, less blood on the floor and person of the saint, easier attitudes, and better grouping distinguish Poussin's work. Expression of feeling and modelling are more natural in Domenichino's production. M. Clement has advanced the theory that this is the only authentic picture which can be attributed to Nicolas Poussin's first manner,

anterior to his journey to Rome in 1624. He finds in it something Gothic, some features borrowed from Jean Cousin.¹ On the contrary, this painting shows a close following of Domenichino's style. Domenichino completed his St. Cecilia series after his work in the chapel of St. Nilus at Grotte Ferrata, and after his visit to Bassano, before he went to Bologna, that is, between the years 1612—1617. It is improbable that Poussin found a copy of this particular picture in Paris, and much more credible that he painted his St. Cecilia in Rome directly from his master's composition.²

The return of Cardinal Francesco Barberini brought the young artist his first important commissions in Rome. Among these paintings were "The Destruction of Jerusalem" and "The Death of Germanicus." The Cardinal gave the first-named work to a Duchess d'Aiguillon, and presented a replica by Poussin to Prince d'Eschen-

¹ *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*. Paris, 1874, p. 176.

² Jules Renouvier, writing in the *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, 1860, V. p. 13, says: "'The Death of St. Cecilia' by Nicolas Poussin was made for M. Breteuil, ambassador at Rome from Malta."

M. de Chennevières says (p. 125): "Cette énigmatique Mort de Sainte Cecile, dont le faire serait si isolité dans l'œuvre du maître." There seems here no enigma, but such a representation by Domenichino and his pupil as the legend required.

berg, ambassador of the Emperor at the papal court. One of the two pictures called the "Destruction of Jerusalem" is in the Royal Gallery at Vienna. We may compare it with a pen-and-ink drawing in the Louvre to illustrate Poussin's method of repeating a subject. In the Vienna example, Roman soldiers and the executioners who have been busy cutting off the heads of turbulent Jews, stop their action, look in the direction of Titus, and wait his command. The General sees with consternation that the inner Temple is burning. Already pillage has begun there, and soldiers bring forth treasures, including the golden candlesticks. The outer Temple is partly destroyed. M. Clement takes this picture from Poussin, but gives no reasons for his opinion. Little details sometimes help in the way of identification of art works. In the foreground of this scene, on the left, stands a Roman soldier who carries a large hexagonal-shaped shield which is covered with rich ornamentation. This shield has been thought too modern a feature for Poussin. Its counterpart, however, may be found in "Venus bearing Arms to Aeneas" in the Gallery at Rouen, an authentic picture of the master, described by Bellori (p. 295). In the drawing, Poussin has selected a later moment in the history. Flames burst forth from the Temple roof. Titus

and his officers, on horseback, vigorously, but vainly, offer resistance to the soldiers in their mad onrush, pillage, and destruction of the Temple. All is life, action, and confusion, yet, without exaggeration. As a rule, this artist's drawings are made with a pen and India ink, and washed with bistre. He tried to secure a good arrangement of groups, suitable attitudes for the figures, and a clear presentation. This, as one of his early drawings, shows what he considered most important. Little attention is given to the heads, the outlines lack firmness, but the action is well expressed, and the story plain. Bellori says (p. 267), that the replica is the better picture. This drawing seizes a later moment and is the stronger composition, while the representation is neither so dramatic, nor so artificial as in the painting at Vienna.

In the "Death of Germanicus" (Barberini Palace, Rome), the painter takes a page from Tacitus.¹ The great Roman General lies propped up in his bed and receives his warriors, headed by some nine or ten men bearing lances, swords, and a banner. He addresses his friends, and lays the blame of his death by poison to the political treachery of Tiberius. At the side of the bed sits his wife Agrippina, with her face covered, weeping. Three children, the youngest held by an

¹ *Tacitus Annalien*, Liber II. p. 72.

attendant, form a group with the mother. In the foreground and centre stands a warrior, who raises his right arm and swears to avenge Germanicus' death. In this scene there is naturalism without straining after effect. The costume and armour have been studied from antique models; the light is fairly well distributed, it falls upon the upper part of the dying man's body, upon the women and children and soldiers in front, while other portions of the painting look dark or indistinct. In the choice of subjects from profane history, Nicolas Poussin, at this time, showed his bent and taste. He did more than this. He set a praiseworthy example. One might call him a reformer in resisting the prevailing fashion and mannerism of the schools.

In the library of the Barberini Palace, the painter found some copies of Leonardo da Vinci's manuscripts which the Cardinal had ordered, made, from originals in Milan, during the years 1626—1643. Nicolas Poussin and Gaspard Dughet copied the copy, thus secured, of Leonardo's *Trattato della Pittura*. On the margins of some pages, Nicolas drew tiny outlines, and, on separate sheets, made some pencil and pen-and-ink drawings, as illustrations of the text.¹ In 1651, Rafaele

¹ Max Jordan, *Untersuchungen ueber das Malerbuch des Lionardo Da Vinci*. Leipzig, 1872, p. 2.

Dufresne published in Paris the first edition of this *Treatise on Painting* dedicated to Queen Christine of Sweden. In this book, Poussin's drawings have been put into the text, and much altered by additions and embellishments, the work of Charles Errard and an engraver Lochon. Five later editions appeared; viz. at Naples in 1733; Bologna, 1786; Paris, 1796; Milan, 1804; and Perugia, 1805. From the Paris edition¹ came all the later publications, with the exception of the Florentine of 1792, until the Roman edition of Manzi in 1817. Dufresne was not in possession of the original manuscript by Da Vinci, nor did he follow exactly the copies accessible. Dr. Max Jordan calls the illustrations made by Errard after Poussin's sketches, academic in character, and says that they bear little resemblance to Leonardo's designs and suffer by comparison. Their size and number disturb more than aid the student. This is no doubt true of the prints in Dufresne's book, but Poussin's designs, as attached to the manuscript, have no such disturbing effect. These latter are apart from the text, small in size, and mere outlines. They look like the modest efforts of a student to make the subject-matter clearer to himself.

¹ *Trattato della Pittura di Lionardo Da Vinci nuovamente data in luce, con la vita dell' estesso autore, scritto da Rafaele Du Fresne.* Paris, 1651.

Le Traité de la peinture, traduit de l'Italie, par Roland Fréart Sieur de Chambray, Paris, 1651, was dedicated to Nicolas Poussin. After the publication of this translation, Adam Bosse an engraver, then Professor of Perspective at the Royal Academy in Paris, wrote to Poussin inquiring in regard to his share in the work.¹ The painter answered: "I have had, at times, both pleasure and profit from criticism, often so hastily made in French fashion, as to lead to self-deception. I am in your debt for this favourable judgment. In regard to Da Vinci's book, it is true I have designed the human figures that belong to Cavalier Del Pozzo's copy. All the other designs, whether geometrical or otherwise, are by a certain Degli Alberti, the same who traced the plans in Rome Souterraine. The (*goffi*) poor landscapes behind the figures in the copy M. de Chambray has printed, were added by Sieur Errard without my knowledge. All that is good in his book might be printed on a sheet of paper in capitals. Those who believe that I approve of such dedicatory epistles do not know me, I who profess to give no place in my profession to things badly done."

In a catalogue of rare books and precious manuscripts, belonging to the library of Firmin-Didot

¹ *Traité des Pratiques Géométrales et Perspective, etc.* Abraham Bosse, Paris, 1665, p. 128.

in Paris, published in 1882, under number 44, on page 69, is the following notice: "*Trattato della Pittura, Trattato della Prospettiva*. Precious manuscript on paper, written in great part by the illustrious Nicolas Poussin, and adorned with twenty-nine pages of drawings by his hand. It contains a treatise of Leonardo's on perspective, as yet unpublished. This book once belonged to Chancellor Molé."

Antoine Auguste Renouard, who formerly owned this manuscript, thus describes it in his catalogue, published in Paris, 1819, tome I. p. 320:—"In 1815, a manuscript containing Da Vinci's *Treatise on Painting* was sold among the books of James Edwards, in London, for £102 18s.¹ This volume was thought to be the manuscript which M. de Chantelou had requested the painter to copy (Poussin made the copy for C. Del Pozzo, who presented it to M. de Chantelou), and the one from which Dufresne's publication was made. As the owner of another manuscript of the same treatise, belonging to the middle of the seventeenth century, and accompanied by drawings whose superiority made evident the hand of an artist of the first rank, I sought to find the author of both drawings and copy. The existence of the De Chantelou manuscript seemed to lead

¹ This work is now in England, the property of Mr. Esdaille.

to the conclusion that my example must belong to another artist. A man of Nicolas Poussin's merit would not attempt twice to copy the text of the same book, still less to make a second time the same illustrations. I have been forced to a different conclusion. There must be two manuscripts. One, destined for a friend and patron, was executed in folio, and, probably, written by some skilful copyist. The other, in somewhat careless writing, the work of two persons, on little sheets in quarto, is the example that the artist reserved for himself. From this the later De Chantelou copy was executed. The two volumes have a family resemblance which makes the theory of two artists improbable. The drawings are alike in character and in both manuscripts by Nicolas Poussin. The two writings of my book in French and Italian are not good enough to be the work of a paid copyist. Competent critics and artists (Prud'hon, Moreau, and others) have pronounced the drawings originals. After comparing the manuscripts with the autographs of Poussin in the National Library, Louvre, and other collections, I am convinced that the writings in my book have been made by Nicolas Poussin and Gaspard Dughet, and in the second example by a copyist. The Chantelou manuscript designs are on oiled paper, proof that they have been traced over others."

Through the courtesy of M. Gustave Pawlowski, librarian of the house of Firmin-Didot, Paris, the author was permitted to see and handle this precious volume. Fresh from the study of the autograph letters and drawings of this master, it was not difficult to recognize the handiwork of Nicolas Poussin. His writing is most characteristic; neat, clear, and easily read. On the other hand, some of the pages written by Gaspard Dughet are blotted, and much less orderly in appearance. Of the one hundred and sixty-two leaves, the first forty, and from one hundred and one to one hundred and sixty-two, have been written by Nicolas, the others by Gaspard. Eight pages contain an unpublished piece on the life and work of Da Vinci, by a monk, P. Mazzenta. The title-page is lacking. Ten pages of drawings are made with pen and ink, two with pencil, while other pen-designs have been shaded with washes of bistre. The binding of this book is a marvel, "de dorure au pointillé." In the middle of the cover is the coat of arms of the Molé family, quartered with those of Mesgrigny. This binding was finished before 1656, the date of Chancellor Molé's death. It is supposed that this statesman received the volume as a gift from Poussin himself. The present owners value it at twelve thousand francs.

Cardinal Barberini's commissions gained for the artist a new patron in Cavalier Cassiano Del Pozzo, cousin of Carlo Antonio Del Pozzo, archbishop of Pisa, who had charge of the education of the young nobleman.¹

Cassiano was born at Turin in 1590 ; he studied at Bologna and in Pisa, held a judge-ship for a time in Siena, then removed to Rome, and became the secretary of Cardinal Francesco Barberini. This Cardinal shared the tastes of his uncle, Maffeo Barberini, Pope Urban VIII., who in his long reign of twenty-one years lavished great sums of money and many honours upon his family, elevated his brother and two nephews to the rank of cardinal, and displayed a pompous liking for the arts. Cardinal Francesco Barberini's palace was a gathering-place for men of letters and artists ; both the Cardinal and his secretary espoused the cause of Domenichino. Cardinal Del Pozzo accompanied the prelate on his embassies, and, on his return to Rome, was made superintendent of the excavations begun on the Cardinal's Palestrina estate. A catalogue of the secretary's private collections filled twenty-three volumes. During the first year of their acquaintance, the painter was often employed by

¹ J. Dumesnil, *Histoire des plus célèbres amateurs Italiens et de leurs relations avec les artistes*. Paris, 1855, pp. 405—452.

Del Pozzo to make drawings of ancient sculptures. In addition to great and varied knowledge as an antiquarian and collector, Cassiano Del Pozzo possessed a noble character, and for thirty-four years proved himself a constant and reliable friend to Poussin. Twenty-four letters from the painter to Del Pozzo, written for the most part from Paris, belong to the years 1641—1642.¹ One undated note of this period deserves a place here: "To M. le Commandeur Cassiano Del Pozzo :—You will perhaps regard it as indiscreet and inopportune on my part that, after having received from your house so many tokens of interest, I should never write to you without making a new request. Since I am unable, on account of indisposition, to come to you, I venture to write and ask you to help me, being persuaded that what you have hitherto done for me came from goodness and a naturally kind heart. I am ill most of the time and have no other means of support than the labour of my hands." In response to this appeal, Poussin received two hundred and sixty francs.

Through the mediation of this patron and friend, the artist was given a commission for a painting, to be copied in mosaic, for the altar of St. Erasmus, in St. Peter's Church. "The

¹ G. Bottari, *Vite de Pittori*, etc. Roma, 1728.



THE MARTYRDOM OF ST. ERASMUS.

In the Vatican Gallery, Rome.

Martyrdom of St. Erasmus " (Vatican) is fifteen feet ten inches high by ten feet one inch wide, and executed with great care. Maria Graham relates (p.47), that this is the only canvas ever signed by Poussin ; his reason for so doing was to prevent his poor work from being confounded with the productions of great masters in that splendid building. On the painting one may read the words, traced by a brush, " Nicolaus Pusin fecit." This story seems improbable and has been refuted.¹ It is a false signature. Poussin never would have mutilated his name after this fashion. According to the legend, Erasmus, one of the bishops of the early Church, withstood all ordinary torture, and, therefore, was finally martyred, in the time of Diocletian, in the manner here depicted. The saint is seen, extended over a short block, with head and feet hanging down at the sides. His eyes start out and his brows contract with suffering. A Pagan priest, dressed in ample white robes, urges Erasmus to retract and pay homage to Hercules, whose statue, on the left, is in a colonnade of the temple. One man draws out and another winds the saint's intestines over a roller. Two men watch with lively interest the proceedings, while an officer on horseback directs the punishment and talks with the man at the wheel. Above the heads of all, in the air, are two cherubs

¹ Ph. de Chennevières, p. 101.

bearing wreaths and a palm branch. This theme, commanded by the Pope, as treated by Poussin, illustrates the teachings of the Church at that time. Love of symbolism, hatred of the nude, the martyrdom of the flesh, a picture like a page from the Bible or sacred legendary history, these are the *raison d'être* of many works of art. A Jesuit father warmly recommended Pomerance to depict well the flaying of St. Bartholomew because it might win hearts to piety.¹ Representations of the martyrdom of saints held an important place also among the weapons used to combat the Reformation. It was essential that such pictures should be as full of realism as the technical skill of painters could contrive, appealing to the emotions of believers, and replete with terrors for unbelievers. A long list of such object-lessons might be cited. Public taste developed by what the Church provided, and demanded more and more realistic pictures of the physical sufferings of Christ, His apostles, and the saints. "If Nicolas Poussin has exceeded all other artists in the presentation of horrors in his 'St. Erasmus,' and wins the prize for *Grässlichkeit und Geschmacklosigkeit* (hideousness and lack of good taste²), the explanation is not far to seek." That the topic

¹ A. Venturi, p. 356.

² Carl Justi, *Diego Velazquez und sein Jahrhundert*. Bonn, 1888, I. p. 322.

could not have been congenial to him, may be inferred from the fact that there is no other example of a martyrdom among his works, with the exception of the "Death of St. Cecilia," a picture in which no horrors are seen, and a replica of "St. Erasmus," which is in all respects the same composition, save that the saint is being flayed alive, and, therefore, should be called St. Bartholomew. This commission came to the painter as a great honour and called for his best efforts. All his studies of form, the nude, light and shade, drapery, etc. bear fruit in this painting. Poussin's nature and training led him to reproduce conscientiously the legend. The captain on horseback and the two spectators may have been suggested by Quentin Varin's "St. Vincent." The dark flesh tints and the treatment of drapery seem to be a borrowing from Pietro Testa.¹ Andrea Sacchi's influence helped the artist in his general arrangement. Inspiration he must have felt whether or no from Caravaggio. That wild genius left behind works so true to nature that painters everywhere learned from him. Caravaggio's independence, his rejection of any other standard than what he saw and experienced, could no more be named wholly right, than the practices of the school of Bologna wholly wrong. The man went

¹ Ph. de Chennevières, p. 101.

to ruin because of his unbridled character, and his art, especially in religious subjects, is too passionate, too subjective, to give perfect satisfaction. If it be true that Poussin ever said,¹ "Le Caravage étoit né pour la perte de la Peinture," he did not refer to this master's fight against mannerism, his energy in composition, or firm modelling, but to a coarse appearance and a certain negation of beauty. He may have thought that Caravaggio's hasty execution, morbid taste in some themes, and seductive colour, light and shade, would cause the ruin of painting. "St. Erasmus" is a remarkable success in the entire absence of posing on the part of the figures; each is absorbed in the action. One cannot imagine such positions maintained for any length of time. This is not an abstract composition.²

The failure of Cardinal Barberini's mission to France led to dislike of the French at the papal court and throughout Rome. Urban VIII. had been unwilling that Roman Catholic Valetine in

¹ Emeric David, *Discours sur la Vie du Poussin*. Paris, 1863, p. 23.

² A. Andresen, *Nicolaus Poussin, Verzeichniss der nach seinen Gemälden gefertigten Kupferstiche*. Leipzig, 1863, p. 62. "Martyrium des heil. Erasmus. Im Vatican. Um 1651 gemalt." The year given is an error. St. Erasmus belongs to the first Roman period. The catalogue of the École des Beaux-Arts, Paris, gives the date of this work as 1626.

France should come under the rule of the heretical Huguenots in Les Grisons.¹ Cardinal Richelieu and the King answered the legate that all subjects, of whatever faith, must be protected, and that these districts might be left to settle their own differences. Louis XIII. expressed his surprise that the Pope, who owed his rise to his father and himself, had now become so thoroughly Spanish. "But I," he said, "am neither a bigot nor a Spaniard, and I will defend my cause which is a good one." This irritation between the two courts led, indirectly, to an unpleasant incident in Nicolas Poussin's life.² One day, as the artist with two friends was returning home from a sketching trip, they encountered in the neighbourhood of the "Quattro Fontane," some soldiers, who rushed upon them. Nicolas' companions saved themselves by flight, leaving him to defend himself as best he could, with portfolio and stones picked up from the street. He received a sword-cut between the index and middle finger of his right hand. If the sword had not turned, Passeri tells us, a great misfortune would have happened to him and art. Not to expose himself needlessly to like encounters, Poussin adopted the dress of a Roman

¹ Leopold Ranke, *Französische Geschichte*. Stuttgart, 1877, II. p. 269.

² G. B. Passeri, p. 349.

gentleman, which he always wore after this while in Italy. In an illness that followed, the painter was most kindly cared for by the family of Jacques Dughet. Jacques sent medicines and a physician, while his wife looked after the bachelor's linen and food. Jacques Dughet, born in Paris, was a cook in the family of a senator in Rome; here he married and had five children, three sons and two daughters.¹ After his recovery, Nicolas Poussin married, August 9, 1630, Jacques Dughet's eldest daughter Anna Maria.² The wife brought her husband a comfortable dowry of fifteen hundred livres, with which a house was bought on Mt. Pincio. It has been generally believed that Nicolas Poussin lived nearly thirty-five years in this house, but according to a census, taken in 1656, after a plague, he was then residing in Via Paolina (now Via Babuino). Before that time, his home was in Palazzo Costaguti, where he painted some landscapes.³ Of Anna Maria we hear only praise. She was a true wife, sharing

¹ Maria Graham, p. 45.

² See Appendix for copy of the marriage act, II. Passeri, and those who follow him, are in error as to the date of this marriage, which did not take place October 18, 1629. See H. Lemonnier in *L'Annuaire de la Société philotechnique*, 1858, t. xx. p. 181.

³ Mrs. Mark Pattison, *L'Art*, 1882, II. p. 122; and A. Bertolotti, *Artisti Francesi in Roma*. Roma, 1886, p. 107. Poussin lived at No. 79, Via Babuino from 1637—1665.

her husband's taste for simplicity, and never allowed herself to be over-troubled by his absorption in work. She was nineteen years younger than her husband; they had no children, but Anna Maria's sister and brothers were like members of the family. During two years of absence from his wife in 1640—1642, Poussin showed, as his letters make known, that he could hardly endure the separation; he became alarmed at her slightest indisposition, and returned her solicitude and care for his uncertain health with an equal devotion.

Blessed in his home, with health improved and relief from poverty, the painter could now work freely, and ten fruitful years followed. A large number of pictures belong here, some of which are among his best creations. After 1633, Poussin rarely dated his paintings, the chronology, therefore, becomes a matter of some difficulty.¹ The majority of the earlier pieces reveal an almost equal interest in colour and design. In the mythological scenes, Titian and other Venetian masters have furnished him models of style. This can be noticed in the little Loves of many a Bacchanal, in the sleeping figure of a Venus or nymph, in the bright red drapery put beneath or

¹ A. Woltmann und K. Woermann, *Geschichte der Malerei*. Leipzig, 1888, III. p. 322.

behind some nude reclining form, and in the clump of trees, near which a chief group has been arranged, or in the sunset skies and distant landscape. In his use of colour there are often surprises. While it is true that one never sees in Poussin's pictures the luscious, juicy, superb tints of Titian at his best, yet there are examples of this master's art, such as the "Bacchanals" in the Louvre, the "Nymph, Faun, and Satyr" in the Gallery at Cassel, the "Sleeping Venus" in Dresden, as well as other paintings, where the flesh tones or carnations have a glow and an inner fire which light up the otherwise dark canvas. A series of paintings, known as the "Seven Sacraments," executed for Cassiano Del Pozzo, belong to the most important undertakings of this period. These will be described in Chapter IV. in connection with a second set made later. A list is here given of the works which belong to the years 1630—1640. The dates have been taken from Poussin's correspondence, André Félibien's *Entretiens*,¹ and the catalogues of art galleries. This does not include the paintings already mentioned.

*circa 1630—1635. The Apparition of the Virgin to St. James.
Louvre.*

¹ André Félibien, *Entretiens sur les vies et sur les ouvrages des plus excellent Peintres, etc.* Trevoux, 1725.

- The Plague at Ashdod, for the sculptor Matteo. *Louvre.*
- The Triumph of Flora, for Cardinal Omodei. *Louvre.*
- The Worship of the Kings. *Dresden Gallery.*
1635. Parnassus. *Prado Gallery*, Madrid.
1637. The Faeliscian School-master, for De La Vrillière. *Louvre.*
- Rinaldo and Armida, for Jacques Stella. *Hermitage Gallery*, St. Petersburg.
- The Passage through the Red Sea, for the Marquis de Voghera or Amadeo Del Pozzo, now owned by Earl Radnor, Longford Castle, England.
- The Worship of the Golden Galf. Same owners.
- Pan and Syrinx, for J. Stella. *Dresden Gallery.*
- Moses striking the Rock, for De Gillier, now the property of Lord Egerton, London.
1638. The Finding of Moses, for Le Nôtre. *Louvre.*
- The Triumph of Galatea, for Cardinal Richelieu. *Hermitage Gallery.*
- Four Bacchanals, for Cardinal Richelieu. Two are in the *Louvre.*
1639. The Rape of the Sabines, for the Duchess d'Aiguillon. *Louvre.*
- Venus bearing Arms to Aeneas, for J. Stella. Rouen Museum.
- The Israelites gathering Manna, for Paul de Chantelou. *Louvre.*
1640. John baptizing in the Jordan, for C. Del Pozzo. *Louvre.*

Nicolas Poussin made, either during this period or later, replicas of the following subjects:—"The Plague at Ashdod" in the National Gallery, London; "The Empire of Flora," Dresden Gallery; "The Worship of the Kings," Dulwich Gallery, England, and Louvre; "The Worship

of the Golden Calf" (known in an engraving by N. de Poilly). It is doubtful whether Poussin himself engraved this picture. "Moses striking the Rock," Hermitage Gallery, St. Petersburg (a third version of this subject is known in an engraving, described in A. Andresen's catalogue). "The Finding of Moses" was painted by Poussin five times; two examples are in the Louvre, the other three are in the Dresden Gallery, the collection of Earl Temple in England, and the family of Bishop Beckwith, Savannah, Georgia; "The Rape of the Sabines" belongs to Sir Richard Colt Hoare, Stourhead, Bath.¹

From this list have been selected, for brief description, six pictures that illustrate Nicolas Poussin's style during this period. "The Adoration of the Kings." Mary sits well in the foreground, at the extreme left, near a ruined temple, behind her stands Joseph in a thoughtful attitude. She holds the Christ-child on her lap, to whom the Magi present their gifts. Near them stand a page, who holds a crown, and a woman, whose action in placing a finger on her mouth is noticeable. At the right, and also in front, are four persons belonging to the retinue of the kings. These express by gesture and behaviour their delight in the presence of the Child. At a little

¹ See the catalogue for a full list.

distance one sees a group of servants with their horses and camels. In this well-worn theme Poussin is less inventive than in his historical and classical pictures. Anachronisms, in respect to the buildings and scenery introduced here and in other works of the artist, do not disturb the spectator, who knows well that no painters in those days had made accurate studies in Bible lands.

“Parnassus” is probably Poussin’s best production in Spain. Raphael’s picture of like name was his model. Here are ideally beautiful forms in a charming landscape. Apollo sits on an elevated seat under the shade of trees, the Muses standing at his right hand. Calliope is nearest him, and crowns, with a wreath of laurel, a poet who kneels before the god and presents him with a book of verses. Apollo offers a cup of Ambrosia to the poet; a mantle covers his lower limbs, while the upper part of his body is left nude; long golden hair falls on his shoulders. Near the centre, a little below Apollo’s throne, reclines the nymph of the spring. At the sides, in the first plane, forming two unequal groups, appear eight poets all wearing crowns of leaves. Two genii hand them bowls of water from the sacred fountain. Five Loves sport in the trees. The cherubs, nymph, and genii are here additions which do not

belong to Raphael's "Parnassus." Poussin introduces fewer poets, all his Muses stand, and Apollo has no violin. The trees are larger and brought nearer together. Both men have gone to antique sources for inspiration, both keep their individuality, and each creates a poetical work. Raphael is the greater poet, his production freer and more ideal. Poussin's groups are stiffer, his composition, as a whole, somewhat monotonous.

"The Finding of Moses." A fisherman, Moses' father, is seen on the left standing in his boat, from which he hands up a basket containing the child to an attendant of Pharaoh's daughter. The attention of the princess is drawn to the man, she points to the cradle and gives command. Thermutis is fair and tall, with plaited golden hair, she wears a yellow robe clasped at the shoulder and a white veil on her head. She stands leaning one arm on the shoulder of a younger woman; a third attendant who watches the scene completes this group, which is one of the finest among Poussin's works. It appears again, less one person, in *Etrà* and a young girl in "Theseus at Trezene" in the Uffizi and Chantilly Galleries. A river-god reclining on the bank, holding a horn of plenty, represents the Nile. Such a figure is always present in the pictures of Hebrew stories. On the river is a boat with three persons in it,



PAN AND SYRINX.

*In the Dresden Gallery. After a photograph by F. and O. Brockmann
(successor R. Tamme), Dresden.*

their forms reflected in the water. On the opposite bank, Moses' mother and sister are anxiously awaiting the result of their efforts to save the child. A long bridge, a pyramid, a city, and some hills fill the background. This subject as treated in four other versions testifies to the painter's fertile imagination. The number of figures, their positions, dress, and part in the scene are evidently the outcome of much thought. Each detail is studied for a particular place, and all the accessories serve to express the conception. Such a motive as a boat with forms reflected in the water reappears in "John baptizing in the Jordan" (Louvre), and may have been borrowed from Annibale Carracci (Landscape, Berlin Gallery).

"Pan and Syrinx" is taken from Ovid's *Metamorphoses*. The Nymph pursued by Pan takes refuge in the arms of a river-god. At the right, on the bank, a reclining female river-god watches the chase with great interest. By her side plays a little Love; a second child, in the air above the head of Pan, carries an arrow and a lighted torch. Two other Cupids, at play in the foreground, are startled and hide their faces in alarm. All the forms are nude or nearly so, all may be well seen in the midst of a lovely, woody landscape, whose reeds foreshadow Syrinx's change. Nothing seems

superfluous here, the figures and their surroundings harmonize, the light effects and modelling are excellent, and the colours warm. With classic grace of design, there is also introduced animated movement, sunshine, and a real forest atmosphere. Poussin's nymph is no muse here, but a true dryad. The fact that the painter has some seventy works devoted to mythological subjects would indicate a marked liking for such themes. Indeed we shall find him returning again and again to them, and his last work, sent unfinished to Cardinal Massimi and now in the Louvre, was "Apollo and Daphne." What artist to-day, asks Carl Justi disparagingly in his *Life of Velazquez* (vol. i. p. 259), would make anything out of such topics as Nicolas Poussin's "Bacchanals" in their "Bas-reliefmarsch"? In the history, however, of a seventeenth-century painter, one should keep in mind his opportunities, the demands and tastes of his age. It must be remembered, also, that each new century judges, somewhat differently from all others, the works of the great masters of the past.

"The Rape of the Sabines" has been so often described that further comment seems unnecessary here. As in the "Death of Germanicus" and the "Taking of Jerusalem," so also in this work the artist presents a page from history. The

action is varied, learned, clear and well expressed. If the painter would only forget himself and the means employed! So studied a composition may have force, but it lacks simplicity and spontaneity. "John baptizing in the Jordan" is the ripest effort of the first period in Rome. This painting seems to be a wholesale borrowing, on the part of the artist, from himself and others. A man on horseback is seen again, although the horse is not half so much alive as the one in "St. Erasmus." A man standing in a thoughtful attitude with hand grasping his beard appears here as in the "Death of the Virgin." From the painter's Venetian studies come the women and children. The men, taking off and putting on their clothing, carry one straight to Michael Angelo's cartoon of the Battle of Pisa. Other features are decidedly Raphael-esque. But, after all is said, one must admire this creation, especially the beautiful river scenery. The work introduces studies in landscape which bear ripe fruit in a later period.

To the years 1626—1640 may be assigned at least forty to fifty paintings which were, for the most part, commissions from important persons. Poussin's acquaintance with the monuments and art of old Rome and the methods of living artists belongs to this time. After 1630 the struggle for means of existence was over, but he could not

guard against interruptions from ill-health. So long as he lived on Mt. Pincio, he had Claude Lorrain for a neighbour, and he must have known other French painters in Rome, but life up to this period had offered Nicolas Poussin few leisure hours. During all these years he worked along independent lines, refusing to be a slavish imitator of the great Renaissance masters, or a follower of either the Eclectics or Naturalists. His taking from many sources was the student's effort at self-development. In the treatment of his subject, a last analysis reveals French or Norman characteristics.

CHAPTER III

COURT-PAINTER IN PARIS, 1640—1642

Negotiations and Appointment—Commissions from M. de Noyers and Louis XIII.—Decoration of the Grande Galerie du Louvre—Rivals—Allegorical Pictures.

THE Court of France did not think of patronizing Nicolas Poussin until his reputation in Rome was established.¹ After some pictures, commissioned by Cardinal Richelieu, had reached Paris, attention was directed to their maker. M. François Sublet de Noyers, Minister of State and War, Superintendent of Royal buildings, etc., endeavoured to obtain Poussin's services as court-painter. The negotiations were truly diplomatic in length and highly flattering to the artist. Correspondence between Paris and Rome began in 1639. The first letter in *Collection des lettres de Nicolas Poussin*, Paris, 1824, bears the date January 15, 1638. This is an error,² not of the copyist, as the

¹ Maria Graham, p. 1.

² Henri Chardon, *Amateurs d'Art et Collectionneurs Man-
ceaux du XVII. Siècle*. Le Mans, 1867, p. 33.

editor Quatremère de Quincy supposed, but of the painter himself, who had not then become accustomed to the new date. This is made clear from the letter. He says: "After living in this land fifteen years, happily married, I had hoped to die here, believing with the Italians '*chi sta bene non si muove.*'" At the beginning of the year 1638, Poussin had not passed fifteen entire years in Italy. "The Manna" for M. de Chantelou, of which he speaks in this letter, was then nearly finished (completed in April 1639), and not until 1639 did M. de Noyers become Superintendent. In this same communication addressed to M. de Chantelou, secretary to the Minister, the painter pleads ill-health, duty to his wife, and many orders on hand as good reasons for delay. He speaks of a bladder trouble, to which he has been subject for four years, and of his torments under the hands of surgeons. He is ready, in case of difficulty, to relinquish the place to any suitable person who desires the position; ends, however, by signifying his wish to be obedient to the will of the King. Minister de Noyers wrote January 18, 1639, to the painter, and, four days later, Louis XIII. himself. His Majesty's letter from Fontainebleau is as follows: "Dear and Well-beloved;—A report has been made to Us by some of Our special servants of the esteem in which you are held and

of the rank you hold among the most excellent artists in Italy. Following the example of Our predecessors, We desire to contribute as much as possible to the ornamentation of Our royal houses, by calling to Our court those who excel in the arts. We have appointed you one of Our painters-in-ordinary. Our expectation is that you will prepare to come hither, where the services you will render will be highly considered. M. de Chantelou will explain in regard to the advantages that We have resolved to give you. We add nothing more except to pray God to have you in His holy keeping." The secretary wrote soon after respecting the "advantages," namely, one thousand crowns for the journey's expense, the same amount as yearly salary, a house, either at Fontainebleau or in Paris, with rooms newly and handsomely furnished. His engagement would be for five years ; the King would not ask for vault-decorations, but required the painter to bind himself not to work without his permission for any private individual. To his friend Jean Lemaire, painter at the Tuileries, Poussin sent two letters ¹ dated February 19 and August 15,

¹ MS. 12347, Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris. The national library in Paris possesses a collection of autograph letters, numbered MS. 12347, of which one hundred and thirty-seven were written by Nicolas Poussin and the others by Minister de

1639, wherein he expresses his real feeling. He is unwilling to leave before the pictures begun for important patrons have been finished, but has decided to go to Paris in the autumn, although he regrets a promise given, being in such poor health, and considers that he has done a foolish thing, in imposing upon himself obligations and giving up the peace and sweetness of his home, for undertakings that may or may not succeed.

Nicolas Poussin arrived in Paris December 17, 1640. Our best knowledge of this period¹ comes from the artist's letters to Cassiano Del Pozzo and Paul Fréart de Chantelou. Poussin reported to Del Pozzo in Rome, January 6, 1641, his safe arrival and honourable reception in Paris. He describes in detail the nine rooms in three storeys assigned to him in the Tuileries, with all their conveniences and surroundings "a veritable paradise in summer." On the occasion of his presentation at Court, Louis XIII. detained the painter in conversation a half-hour, and at its close turned to his courtiers saying: "Voilà, Vouet bien attrapé" (Behold, Vouet is well entrapped).

Noyers, Cardinal Mazarin and Giovanni Dughet. See the Appendix IV. for a catalogue of these autographs with extracts taken from other letters.

¹ Quatremère de Quincy, *Collection des Lettres de Nicolas Poussin*. Paris, 1824, p. 25.

When he returned home, a beautiful velvet purse was brought to him containing two thousand crowns of gold. Poussin naively adds: "Money is needed here, everything is excessively dear." Already he is homesick, and ends by saying: "I commend my family to you in my absence, which will not be long if I can help it." The King's brevet of his appointment as first painter-in-ordinary, Poussin acknowledged April 10, 1641.¹

Under this office while in Paris, Nicolas Poussin had the general direction of all works, such as decorations or paintings, undertaken for the embellishment of the royal palaces. His Majesty desired that other artists in his employ should, in every case, submit their designs to Poussin and counsel with him. The salary attached to this position was three thousand livres a year.

For the high-altar of the Noviciate Church of the Jesuits in Paris, to which Minister de Noyers wished to give a present, the artist painted from a theme assigned, "St. Francis Xavier in India restoring to Life the Daughter of a Japanese Nobleman." This picture, sixteen feet high, contains fourteen figures larger than life. It hangs now in Salon Carré, Louvre. Poussin

¹ Louis XIV., through his Minister Colbert, confirmed this title by a new patent, dated December 28, 1655.

has treated the legend after a decidedly ecclesiastical fashion. The painter says in a letter to M. de Chantelou, July 2, 1641:¹ "I employ some hours every evening in reading the lives of Saints Ignatius Loyola and Francis Xavier, in order to find a suitable incident for a painting to go into the Noviciate Church. I have taken some measurements, and find that I cannot get the canvas into my room, it is fourteen and a half feet high." St. Francis faces the spectator, as he stands by the side of a bed, on which lies a dead girl. His hands are clasped and his face is upturned in supplication to Christ, who, accompanied by two angels, is enthroned on the clouds. A woman, who is perhaps the sister, supports the head of the young girl; behind this figure, on the right, stand a man and a woman. At the foot of the bed, near St. Francis, is seen the mother, who stretches out both arms towards her daughter. Three men and another woman watch with her the working of this miracle. In front kneels a priest who sees the vision of Christ and the angels above. This priest wears black-and-white robes which are skilfully painted. Shades of red, blue and yellow in the draperies of the other figures contrast but do not harmonize. Christ's garments are lighter in hue than the greyish-yellow clouds

¹ MS. 12347, p. 57.

on which He rests, and their arrangement adds majesty to His form. His angel attendants have pale green and yellow draperies. In answer to criticism of this work the artist replied :¹ " Those who pretend that my figure of Christ looks more like a Jupiter thundering than a God of mercy, should know that I have striven to give the forms such an expression as may, in each case, belong to the character. I cannot imagine Christ in any action whatever, with a distorted visage, or the Father as effeminate. When Christ was on earth among men, it must have been difficult to judge rightly of His appearance."

In this ambitious attempt, so unlike in its dimensions to his usual productions, is seen the hand of a court-painter who caters to the taste of those around him. Poussin wished to please M. de Noyers and the Jesuits, and for the nonce laid aside his habits of composition. Notwithstanding all its excellencies, this work seems artificial and quite foreign to the master's style. The Christ-figure, however, is neither effeminate nor like a Jupiter, although both His form and draperies are modelled after classical studies. Modern and church garments are appropriate in such a representation, but, coming from Poussin, they seem a great novelty.

¹ Quatremère de Quincy, p. 95.

Minor undertakings of the years 1641—1642, on the part of this artist, were some designs, eight in number, for tapestries to adorn the King's apartments. He took the subjects from his own works and from Raphael. These cartoons have disappeared. For the royal press, Poussin furnished drawings, afterwards engraved as frontispieces, to editions of the Bible, *Virgil*, and *Horace*. "His thought" for the great Bible represents a winged figure as History and a veiled woman as Prophecy. On the book which she holds is written "*Biblia Regia*," the sphinx on the cover stands for mystery. In the sky above is seen the form of the Father-Eternal. Louis XIII. gave the painter commissions to make two great altar-pieces for the royal chapels at St. Germain-en-Laye and Fontainebleau. Only one of these was undertaken and finished, "*The Last Supper*" for St. Germain.¹ The scene is laid in a room adorned with Ionic columns, from the ceiling hangs a lamp with two burners. Christ holds in His hand a plate of bread which He blesses, and on the table near Him is the cup. Four disciples kneel before the Master, while others stand in groups behind Him and at His right hand. In representing the Saviour as standing, surrounded by His apostles,

¹ *Gault de Saint-Germain. Vie de Nicolas Poussin*, Paris, 1806, p. 42.

the painter has departed from the usual and conventional treatment of this subject. Christ wears a blue robe and a red mantle, the kneeling figure on the left has yellow, the two other disciples in front have green and yellow garments. All the colours, however, have now darkened, one can only conjecture in regard to their first appearance. This was not wholly the artist's fault, but should be charged, in great measure, to the practice then in vogue for the preparation of canvases and the use of colours. At present, this painting hangs so high in Salle XIV., Louvre, that any good study of the faces is a matter of difficulty. To C. Del Pozzo, September 20, 1641, Poussin wrote :¹ " I have placed 'The Last Supper' in the chapel at St. Germain, it has turned out well." In this work Poussin has succeeded much better with his Christ, who is both gracious and tender, than in the Noviciate picture. The light in this painting is well distributed, but the gestures of the disciples seem forced, and help little in the expression of feeling. All the contours of forms are here more lifelike, the Japanese girl excepted, than in the "Miracle of St. Francis Xavier."

A glimpse of the artist's life in his palatial quarters in the Tuileries is afforded by various

¹ Quartremère de Quincy, p. 63.

letters to M. de Chantelou.¹ The secretary had sent a hogshead of wine, with a note in which he asked his friend to let him hear how he found it. Poussin and his guests tried the wine and declared it excellent. Another great man sent such a large venison pie that Poussin said the cook had left nothing out but the horns. The painter declined an invitation to visit Chantilly, excusing himself on the plea of ill-health, amount of work on hand, and sedentary habits that unfitted him for a five or six days' journey on horseback. "Here are my joys," he says, "and my diversions; I shall content myself with an excursion for a day or two out into the suburbs of Paris, to breathe a little fresh air." The great work, to which allusion is here made, was a plan for the decoration of the Grand Gallery of the Louvre. About 1596, Du Perac had begun the construction of this gallery, Percier and Fontaine continued the same under Louis XIII. and Louis XIV. The central decoration, commenced in the reign of Napoleon I., was completed by Denuelle under the Second Empire. All the projects for the ornamentation of the "Grande Galerie," from the time of Henry IV. to Louis XVI., seemed condemned by a strange destiny.² Damp-

¹ MS. 12347. April 17, May 10, May 30, and August 3, 1641.

² Ph. de Chennevières, p. 182.

ness so injured the paintings on the walls and vault of this room that, in 1716, the works of Charles Lebrun and other painters had to be removed. A question arose of using this space for a royal library, but the proposition of M. de Angiviller that the Crown pictures be placed here, found acceptance. At present, this immense passage, subdivided into six great compartments or bays, is filled with paintings by masters of the Italian, Spanish, French, Dutch, and Flemish schools. The "Grande Galerie" is in the second storey of a building that extends from the Louvre palace to the Arch of Triumph, and faces the Seine. This corridor is over thirteen hundred feet in length, twenty-seven in width, and lighted by ninety-six windows. The plan of decoration for this gallery by Nicolas Poussin required such a treatment of the separate bays as would secure a harmonious effect. He placed between the windows Corinthian pilasters of painted and gilded wood, extending from the floor to the vault above. On the ceiling, in panels twelve feet by nine, were ninety-six landscapes of French cities, the work of Jacques Fouquières. These had rich frames of stucco in white and gold. Poussin made wax models for the pedestals, and directed all the Italian gilders and stucco-workmen. Besides this, he finished cartoons of the life of Hercules, for

other pictures in black-and-white on a gold ground, to fill spaces in the vault above the windows. He designed also to introduce some *Hermes*, arranging them so that their bodies could follow the curve of the vault and their bases rest on the cornice. Between each two of these he planned to set bas-reliefs, copied from Trajan's Column and the Arch of Constantine at Rome. Jean Pesne engraved nineteen of the forty cartoons of the Labours of *Hercules*, which were published in Paris, in 1678, by Gerard Audran. A brief description is here given of three plates of this series.¹ "Jupiter sends Mercury to Alcmene." Jupiter seated on clouds as a throne, with drapery arranged over the lower half of his body and feet bare, has the left hand on a sceptre resting on his knees. Neither hair nor beard are abundant enough to suggest Jupiter *Otricoli* as a model, but the double brow and divided beard are characteristic features of heads of Zeus. An eagle lies between his knees. Jupiter stretches out his right arm and gives command to Mercury. Over the god's head flies a little Cupid, who holds before himself a bow and carries on his back the quiver ; his hair is blown back by the wind and his face turned towards Jove. His presence indicates the nature of

¹ Another set, with different titles, and a twentieth plate, has been engraved by A. Gélée, 1850, from designs in the Louvre.

Mercury's message. Mercury has wings on his cap and on the bands about his feet, and he carries the caduceus which has two serpents wound around it. He appears as a nearly nude figure, but one hand holds fast an end of the drapery that swells out from his shoulder like a sail. His face is turned towards his master, but he has already started on his way. Plate 2.—“Alcmene gives Birth to Hercules.” The mother lies on a couch, with face turned from the spectator ; she watches the woman who holds her child. In the next room, indicated by a hanging, wait several attendants. Plate 3.—“Hercules as Infant kills two Serpents.” Juno, in hate, has sent two serpents into Alcmene's house to kill the twins, but the little Hercules seizes them, one in each hand, close to their heads, and chokes them to death. The servants have run away leaving little Ipikles, who shows great fear. In a half-sitting, half-lying position on a couch is seen young Hercules, who smiles and has no fear. After this deed, Teresias prophesies his future career. This infant Hercules has short, thick locks, prominent lower brow, and strong limbs. Writers differ in regard to the number of his Labours ; Sophocles gives six, Euripides twelve, the metopes of the Temple of Theseus in Athens ten. Ten Labours are represented among Poussin's drawings. He omits the third and last of the

twelve, and portrays Hercules as a demi-god, in association with gods and men, and performing wonders of strength in the service of Eurystheus. Hercules' life, after he becomes free and an immortal, fills almost no place here. Poussin's hero learns to play the lute, use the bow, and drive horses. He goes nude, or nearly so, and carries a lion's skin on his arm or thrown over his shoulder, but in action leaves it on a tree or on the ground. He is beardless in the scenes when Chiron teaches him how to drive the four-horse chariot, and in his first Labour. As a bearded man in full maturity, he has little resemblance to the Praxiteles type, but looks quite like one of Polycletus' athletes. In several of the designs, Hercules wears a fillet around his head, just above the brow. His weapons are a club, and bow and arrows, those who fight with him carry swords and shields. In the chariot-race he uses reins. Poussin found the material for his "Labours of Hercules" in statues, reliefs, and literary sources, as, for instance, the writings of Pindar and Theocritus. One may compare these cartoons to cut gems or cameos; the general effect is simple, decorative, and sculptural. The artist rarely uses more than two or three figures in a scene.

In Poussin's letter of August 19, 1641, we first hear of the jealousy of rivals. "Baron

Fouquières has come, with his wonted grand manner, to visit me ; he considers it very strange that I have the direction in the 'Grande Galerie,' and that I do not consult him. He declares, he has received an order from the King, confirmed by the Minister, touching this charge ; all but his work in this gallery, he deems of little importance. I write this to make you smile." Jacques Fouquières was born in West Flanders (1596—1660) ; he studied in Antwerp under De Piles, and Velvet Brueghel, and with Rubens. He passed for one of the best landscapists of his day ; his rocks, mountains, and forests received much praise. Rubens employed him for several years, and he served also the Elector of the Palatinate. About 1621 he came to France, when Louis XIII. sent him to various cities of France to prepare for his work in the Louvre.¹ He amused himself, drank, idled away his time, and accomplished little, before he was recalled to Paris, in 1629. Fouquières honestly thought that his landscapes would be the chief adornment of the gallery, and complained in writing to M. de Chantelou, when he found himself baffled in regard to the superintendence of affairs there. He had received from Louis XIII. the title of Baron, and actually held a commission, given him in 1626, touching such a

¹ *Revue de l'art Française*. Paris, 1888, p. 100.

charge. He began to work in the gallery, but had made little progress before the arrival of Poussin. In a letter to Cassiano Del Pozzo, the painter reveals more of the situation:¹ "The yoke that I have put on myself hinders me from giving you proofs of my affection. I hope soon to be free to devote myself to your service. I work without relaxation, and would willingly bear fatigue to see something valuable accomplished. If I stay much longer in this country, I shall become a veritable 'Strapazzone,' like the men here. I find no one to second me; studies of ancient life are unknown in Paris, and he who is inclined to do well should keep away from this place." In a long communication to the Minister, Poussin gives a history of his work in the "Grande Galerie," and defends himself against the accusations of Jacques Lemercier, Jacques Fouquières and Simon Vouet. He draws some comfort from the fact that many renowned painters have suffered from the envy and intrigues of others, and shows, in detail, how he has tried to correct the architectural faults of Lemercier. In reply to Vouet's criticism that the ornamentation of the vault looked mean, he says, no one had proposed to him to make the most superb work imaginable. Such an enterprise would have been difficult of

¹ Quatremère de Quincy, p. 63.

execution in so vast a gallery. He utters words that sound like a prophecy: "Some day this passage may fall into a state of neglect, such as it was when I found it. I consider also the little regard in our country for beautiful things, in themselves, apart from utility or profit. Scarcely are they finished when one holds them of no account or takes pleasure in their destruction." In 1669, Minister Colbert employed M. Boulogne, a fresco painter, to go on with the decoration of the gallery, after Poussin's designs.¹ M. Boulogne restored some portions of Poussin's work which had been burned, but continued the embellishment of the rooms after his own plans. No accident explains the loss of the efforts and work that Poussin put into the "Grande Galerie." This decoration in the Louvre was deliberately taken down and destroyed, by order of Count d'Angiviller, to make room for other arrangements.

Early in August 1641, the artist was summoned to Fontainebleau, to see if some of Primaticcio's pictures, which had been injured, could not be restored, and to give advice with reference to the preservation of others, still intact. He made use of this occasion to speak of his desire to return to Rome, that he might bring his wife to Paris. M.

¹ Eugene Delacroix, *Journal de Eugène Delacroix*. Paris, 1893.

de Noyers granted his request, on condition of his so arranging the work in the "Grande Galerie," begun by him, that others could proceed with it, and also, on his promising to return in the following spring. Shortly before his departure for Rome, Poussin painted a ceiling-picture for Cardinal Richelieu, "Time delivers Truth from Envy and Discord" (Louvre). This painting is circular in shape and has a diameter of two feet ninety-seven inches ; all the forms are life-size. Truth is represented, abandoned of men, left in a rocky region, and exposed to the attacks of Envy and Discord. Time comes and bears Truth to the celestial spaces. He has the features of an old man, but a vigorous frame ; his body is turned three-quarters to the left, and his blue drapery so arranged as to leave limbs free ; his wings are greyish-brown in tone. Truth is a fair, young, nude woman, with golden hair and flesh lighter in hue than that of Time. Her face is seen in profile and turned to the left, she rests easily in the strong arms of her deliverer. In the sky above is a little cherub who holds in one hand a serpent coiled up in the form of a circle, and in the other a scythe. Bright light falls on the forms of Truth and the cherub, while Time's face and limbs are somewhat in shadow. The clouds are greyish-green in colour, but the spot just below

the right foot of the old man is warm and glowing. Two figures, in the lower part of the picture, lean against a circular balustrade. On the left is Envy, writhing in anger, as she sees Truth borne away in safety. Lifting her eyes wildly up, she moves her head, and rouses thus the serpents who torment her. Her left shoulder, on which the light falls, is bare ; her face is livid in hue, and her draperies green in colour. The foreshortening of this figure is masterly. Discord, on the right, is a brunette and wears bluish-green and red garments. She gnashes her teeth, grasps a poignard with which she would strike, and flourishes in vain a lighted torch. Truth escapes her rage. In this most successful creation are revealed, for the first time, many of the qualities so often associated with Poussin's name. Abundant yet restrained imagination ; figures selected with great care ; nothing superfluous and nothing exaggerated ; life in the midst of repose ; design and thought in harmony, and, above all, the thought clear. To quote his own words : "Il faut d'un peintre commence par la disposition, puis l'ornement, la beauté, la grâce, la vivacité, le costume, la vraisemblance, et le jugement partout."¹ In two other works, known in engravings,

¹ C. P. Landon, *Vies et oeuvres des peintres les plus célèbres, etc.* Paris, 1813, p. 37.

Poussin expressed his wounded self-love and his indignation at the criticism of rivals in Paris. The first picture is called "Time rescuing Truth from Anger and Envy" (engraved by G. Folo and S. Baudet). Truth is seen lying on a rock. Time comes as a winged, bald-headed old man, dropping on his way both scythe and hour-glass, and snatches Truth from the clutches of Anger, who, in rage over the loss, bites her own arm. Envy holds two torches, one of which lies close to the bare foot of Truth. The second print is entitled "Hercules strikes down Folly, Ignorance and Envy" (engraved by C. P. Landon). On the right is Folly, personified as a young woman crowned with poppies. Her feet rest on some art books, and she leans against an ass that receives her caresses with pleasure. About this animal's neck hangs a golden chain bearing a medal on which appear the letters J. F. Lemer-cier is represented by a child occupied in tearing to pieces Vitruvius' work on architecture. Hercules comes and makes ready to chastise them. Envy, wearing the features of Vouet, chief of the league against Poussin, struggles in vain to free herself, the giant's club falls on her head with crushing effect. Soon Folly and Ignorance may expect the same treatment. Already the genii of the arts are seen over the hero's head about to

crown him. In the plafond picture for Cardinal Richelieu, the personal feeling which led the painter to this subject, is kept in the background. "Time delivers Truth" is a work marked by elevated and refined style, but, in this Hercules-piece, a man of human passions speaks. No wonder that this last-named composition has been passed over in silence by nearly all of Poussin's biographers.

It is difficult to criticize impartially in dealing with men and events in the history of art. Previous studies, tastes, race, and many other things, combine to render most writers in this field biased in judgment and opinions. Simon Vouet's self-love and sense of dignity had been wounded at being ousted from his place as first painter to the King. A glance at his long successful career, up to 1641, will make clear how difficult it must have been for him to give way to Nicolas Poussin. He was a Parisian by birth (1590—1659), had travelled extensively in England, Turkey, and Italy, studied the best art works, received instruction from good masters in Italy, made quantities of pictures for important personages, and was honoured at home and abroad. Summoned to France in 1627, he had been welcomed with great respect, lodged in the Louvre, and employed by the King and his

nobles. Vouet's wife was an artist, and two of his daughters married engravers, who by their skill extended his fame and popularity. Simon Vouet's services to art had been considerable. He brought back to the home-land a new impulse, imported types of the School of Bologna, opened an atelier in Paris, and lived on in the work of his distinguished pupils. Vouet's paintings display changes of taste with variations in style. In some examples he is truly French, graceful, clear, and agreeable. In other productions one is constantly reminded of his models. Rarely does he seem independent. In fact, he worked in haste, desired money, grew superficial and mannered in his last efforts. Vouet's art and methods were most unlike Poussin's, who produced slowly, felt little influence from prevailing fashions, studied each theme as thoroughly as the means at hand allowed, and formed his own style.

CHAPTER IV

LIFE IN ROME

Decision to remain in Rome—The Brothers de Chantelou—
“The Seven Sacraments”—“The Vision of St. Paul”—
Portraits—Physical Appearance and Habits—Interest in
Political and Contemporary Events.

NICOLAS POUSSIN reached Rome November 5, 1642.¹ One must believe that the painter was sincere in promising Minister de Noyers to return to France, but he gladly found reasons for delay. After the deaths of Cardinal Richelieu, December 4, 1642, and Louis XIII., May 14, 1643, the thought came to him of obtaining full release from his obligation. The letters to M. de Chantelou reveal his state of mind at this time:² “I assure you,” he says, “while enjoying the comforts of my little home and the repose God has granted me, I cannot escape a certain anxiety. You know what I have promised, and that I am ready to fulfil M. de Noyers’ orders.” Three months later, he reports that his wife is ill

¹ Bouchitté, p. 96.

² MS. 12347, pp. 84, 92, 94.

and his brother-in-law, Giovanni Dughet, has not recovered from a serious accident. In October, he speaks more definitely about this matter: "To tell you the truth, I do not think of returning to France. Although this country may be threatened with disturbance, I do not wish to leave. The misfortunes of life can overtake us anywhere." Since it is evident to one reading between the lines, that the painter was entirely content with his lot in Rome, complaint of injustice with regard to the disposal of his house in Paris sounds somewhat melodramatic. He writes to M. de Chantelou, June 18, 1645:¹ "You know that some persons have obtained from the Queen permission to establish themselves in my house, and they have composed false letters, charging that I have said I would never return. I am in despair that this falsehood finds no contradiction. I wish to clear myself, and have decided to return next autumn to enjoy again the delights of my native country. Is there no one to defend my rights? Have the French so little affection for citizens whose merit honours the land? Can they endure that a man like Samson Lepage expel from his house one whose name is known to all Europe? If such injustice prevails, I shall have reason to complain of my country, and shall

¹ MS. 12347, p. 149.

be forced to die, in a strange land, as an exile or one banished." What are facts? The house in the Tuileries gardens which Louis XIII. had assigned, in January 1641, to the painter, for his use while in Paris, was kept for him nearly two years after his return to Rome, and then given to Samson Lepage. The Queen Regent felt at liberty to dispose of this house when the artist decided to live in Rome. That Nicolas Poussin was treated in this case with due consideration, appears from a brevet dated November 8, 1644, which gives also the situation of the *petit palais*.¹ The King ordered Samson Lepage, mareschal des loges de son régiment des Gardes Suisses, to delay taking possession of the "Pavillon de la Cloche," until he could hear from Poussin. His ambassador at Rome, Marquis de Chamont, wrote that the painter could not make up his mind to go to Paris; if he ever returned, he would not wish to live in that house, Lepage might have it.² In April 1644, Nicolas Poussin sent many thanks to his patron, M. de Chantelou, in Paris, for his kindness and trouble in securing for him one hundred crowns, from the sale of furniture in this house. Life in Rome harmonized with

¹ See Appendix III.

² A. Jal, *Dictionnaire Critique*. Paris, 1872, p. 997. *Arch. de l'Empire*, E. 9289.

the master's tastes, habits, and temperament. The riches offered him, if he would return to France, were no temptation. His earnings, with pension, sufficed for his wants. He was honoured, surrounded by friends and admirers, and freed from the jealousies of rivals. The title of Painter to the King raised him in the esteem of the Romans, and, even more in that of the French artists, who came, in numbers, to study in Italy. Among his patrons, only one very dear, highly honoured friend remained behind in France, Paul Fréart de Chantelou.

The brothers De Chantelou, Jean born in 1604, Roland in 1606, and Paul in 1609, belonged to a noble family of Le Mans.¹ They were kinsmen of Minister de Noyers. Jean and Paul, called by the Minister to functions of administration, held office after his retirement. Roland or M. de Chambray took orders, but continued attached to M. de Noyers, in the service of the state, although without public title. Paul's education was more secular than that of his brothers, and such as especially fitted him for diplomatic positions. Interest in art led him to form a collection; through great knowledge of this subject, he constantly exerted an influence

¹ Henri Chardon, *Amateurs d'Art et Collectionneurs Manchoux du XVII. Siècle*. Le Mans, 1867, pp. 16—52.

upon M. de Noyers, who was a man of finance and the right hand of Cardinal Richelieu. Paul de Chantelou first suggested to him the employment of Nicolas Poussin for the decoration of the Great Gallery of the Louvre. He went with his brother Roland to Rome in 1640, charged with a mission to purchase works of art, and to bring back Poussin and some Italian artists to Paris. It is probable that Cassiano Del Pozzo brought the brothers to Poussin's studio. Paul made a second visit to Italy in 1643, when he bore gifts, blessed by the Pope, of two crowns, adorned with diamonds, for Notre Dame de Loreto, from Louis XIII. and Anna of Austria, as a thank-offering for the birth of the Dauphin, afterwards Louis XIV. Paul became secretary to Duc d'Enghien, after the death of M. de Noyers; in 1647, he was appointed councillor and maître d'hôtel ordinaire to the King. He held, somewhat later, the offices of Intendant of the palaces, estates, and finances of the King's brother, with the title of Governor of Château du Loir. As a collector, Paul de Chantelou became most exacting in his demands upon Poussin's time and attention. He would have been glad to have secured all the painter's work, after his return to Rome, and, at first, thought he had a right to complain when he heard of orders accepted from other patrons.

He really succeeded, for three years or longer, in controlling Nicolas Poussin's chief energy. M. de Chantelou desired copies of famous paintings in the Farnese and Vatican palaces, and of works in churches in Rome. He employed a number of artists to make these, all working under Poussin's direction. Besides paintings, medals, busts, chandeliers, etc., the artist had to buy many things for the great man's private use, such as perfumes, soaps, lute-strings, and Frangipane-gloves, all of which he sought, packed, paid for, and despatched, with accurate bills and careful description, to France. Now and then, in the midst of such labours, the painter ventures a respectful protest :¹ "I have thought a thousand times about this matter, how little love, care, and neatness our professional copyists show in what they execute, and how exorbitant are the prices they ask for their daubs. I marvel that such things please. It is true after seeing beautiful works that cannot be had, one is forced to be content with the copies, which are sometimes good, but more often bad. This would diminish the fame of excellent painters, if it were not true that many persons know the originals, and are fully aware of the great difference. Those who only see a poor imitation easily think the originals of no account."

¹ MS. 12347, p. 108.

That Paul de Chantelou should wish copies of Cassiano Del Pozzo's series of "The Seven Sacraments" (after seeing one, "The Baptism"), agreed with his character; that the owner should hesitate to grant this request, and yet be unwilling to refuse it, was quite as characteristic. After some delay, Poussin finally decided, if such copies must be made, it would be for his honour and his patron's satisfaction, that he should undertake the work himself. March 17, 1644, the painter wrote to M. de Chantelou:¹ "By your letters, you show me that my proposition in regard to the 'Seven Sacraments' has been agreeable to you. I shall set about the work at once, leaving other things which I had thought of doing for you, giving my whole time to this, and working, with so much more care and pleasure, since you leave entirely to me the disposition of the subject, the size of the figures, and other particulars. I hope to finish them soon, if I am so happy as to have health in the future, such as I now enjoy."

The first set of the "Seven Sacraments," executed in 1635—1640 ("The Baptism" was finished in Paris, in 1642), for Cassiano Del Pozzo, are now the property of the Duke of Rutland, at Belvoir Castle, England. The second set of these com-

¹ MS. 12347, p. 118.

positions was begun in 1644, and completed in 1648. These paintings are also in England, owned by Lord Ellesmere, in the Bridgewater Gallery, Bridgewater House. Giovanni Dughet and Louis de Chastillon engraved the first series, Jean Pesne, Benoit, Audran and others, the second.¹ Comparative study of the engravings of these sets of pictures brings to light some features of general resemblance, many noticeable differences, and some changes in style. The Del Pozzo pictures are smaller in size, three feet thirty-three inches by three feet, the figures fewer in number, the groups more scattered and loosely arranged, while the architectural setting is more simple than in the second series. The author cannot wholly agree with Bouchitté,² in his

¹ With respect to the progress of the replicas towards completion, the following data is taken from the artist's letters: "Extreme Unction," begun in April 1644, finished in October of the same year; "Penance," begun in June 1644, completed in June 1647; "Confirmation," commenced in September 1644, finished in December 1645; sent to Paris in February 1646; "Eucharist," begun September 1647, completed November 1647; "Ordination" was sent to Paris in August 1647; "Baptism" was sent in 1647; "Marriage," begun in November 1647, sent March 1648.

² Bouchitté, p. 138. "La composition y est en général plus riche, plus élevée surtout, plus réfléchie, plus digne enfin de la majesté du christianisme. Les groups sont plus étroitement liés dans leurs diverses parties; dans l'ensemble, ils sont mieux subordonnés, les draperies sont plus de largeur, les têtes plus d'expression."



EXTREME UNCTION.

*From the series 'The Seven Sacraments.' In the possession of the
Duke of Rutland, Belvoir Castle.*

almost unqualified praise of the De Chantelou paintings as the superior works. Poussin's commentary on this subject is fragmentary in character, and gives little help towards deciding the question concerning the relative merits of the two sets. Piecing together the account, as given in the letters, it is plain that the artist put the entire force of his talent and all his study, for more than four years, into these productions. In regard to the picture "Extreme Unction," he writes: "It is, in truth, a subject for an Apelles who liked to represent dying men. The painting will contain seventeen figures of men, women, and children, both young and old persons, of whom some are weeping while others pray. I do not wish to describe it at greater length, that is not the office of a pen so badly pointed as mine. The first figures are two feet in height, but the picture will be the size of your 'Manna-Gathering,' and in better proportions." In "Penance," he explains, "I shall introduce something new, in particular, a 'Triclinium lunaire,' called Sigma, which will be exactly rendered."¹ August 7, 1644,

¹ Triclinium lunaire refers to couches which the Romans used in their dining-rooms. The name Sigma indicates the disposition of the couches, either in a semi-circle or about the three sides of a table. The couches in "Penance" form three sides of a rectangle.

he reports : "Your 'Extreme Unction' has been laid aside for more than a month, on account of illness. I hope soon to continue it." The heats of summer, in Rome, compelled, every year, long pauses in work. After sending off the first picture, Poussin begged his patron to give his opinion of it "alla Reale," without flattery, which would be harmful for both. To an urgent appeal that he make haste, he says : "Consider what I am doing, and that this is not a thing one can make in a whiff, like the pieces which Parisian artists finish in twenty-four hours. It seems to me that I have done well, when, in a day, I have completed a head of a figure, provided it make the proper effect. I beg you, therefore, to put aside French impatience ; if I have to hurry, I shall do nothing well." November 24, 1647, he writes : "I shall soon send the 'Last Supper,' and then put my hand to 'Marriage,' which I promise will not be inferior to the other six. It is easy for me to repel your suspicion that I have honoured you less than my other patrons. Why should I have preferred you, for the last five years, to other people of merit and quality who eagerly desired me to paint something for them, and offered their purses to draw upon, while I have contented myself, in your case, with a price so moderate, that I have even been unwilling to

accept all the money which you have sent? Instead of lessening the number of figures, in order to hurry on the work, I have enriched the themes more and more, without thinking of any other interests, than that of gaining your good-will and of testifying how much I love and honour you. I have done for you what I would not do for any other living person."

Considering these paintings, in their natural order, as Church sacraments, let us first compare the two "Baptisms." Cassiano Del Pozzo's picture of this name is well-preserved and warm in colour. It contains thirteen figures. Christ stands on the bank of a small river, supposed to represent the Jordan, and is about to be baptized of John. Two angels on the left hold the garments of Christ. Six men to the right of John, while awaiting baptism, have their attention directed to the Dove and the voice from Heaven. Three men are seen putting on their clothing, after the rite of baptism has been received. Two of these men resemble two figures in "John baptizing in the Jordan" (Louvre). Studies after Raphael may be found, as, for example, a man sitting on the ground, who has hair blown over his brow and a long beard, is similar to the apostle behind Peter, in Raphael's "Miraculous Draught of Fishes" (Vatican Tapestries). M. de Chantelou's

"Venit Iesus ad Iohannem" embraces twenty figures in different planes. Christ has been brought nearer the centre and half kneels, ready for baptism. His angel attendants are omitted. John wears a purple robe, near him is a group of four men, one of whom, an old man, stands with bent head and hand grasping his beard. (A similar figure is seen in the "Death of the Virgin" in Berlin, and "John Baptizing" in the Louvre.) Three women and two children are further additions.

The "Confirmation," of the first series, has grown very dark in colouring. The scene takes place in a hall with an apse, in which stands a statue of a Madonna and Child. Two bishops administer the rite; one, clothed in white, is seated, and has two assistants. He confirms a small child, standing with clasped hands before him; four women and three children are grouped at the right. One of the mothers pushes her child towards the seated bishop, a second woman tries to persuade her little girl to go forward for confirmation, but she hesitates. Two men, at the extreme right, are spectators of the scene—they look like Greek philosophers. In "Signantvr Signo Crvcis," the hall has changed into a temple, the rite of confirmation takes place in a sanctuary, a room lighted by three hanging lamps. The bishop wears rich

garments and has more attendants. The attitudes of all the persons seem more studied and less natural. Men and women, as well as children, come to be confirmed. Nearly all the genre features have disappeared, except the incident of the mother talking to her hesitating child. Greater unity is secured by having but one officiating priest and fewer attendants. In place of the Greek sages is seen a group, consisting of an old man, a youth sprinkling holy water on the assistants, and a third figure, in whom Poussin has reproduced his own features (as Raphael in his "School of Athens," Vatican).

The "Penance" of the first set of the "Seven Sacraments" was lost by fire in 1816, but the picture is well known through the engraving by Giovanni Dughet. Christ appears in the house of Simon (Luke vii. 36). The repast is served in an open portico, and, in some of its features, resembles one of Paul Veronese's Feasts. Through the openings, between columns, can be seen a charming landscape. Servants wait upon Simon's guests, reclining on couches. Mary Magdalene kneels before Christ, anoints His feet, and receives His blessing.¹ "Remittuntur ei Peccata."—No

¹ Poussin received from M. de Chantelou one hundred and fifty crowns for his "Confirmation," and two hundred and fifty crowns for the "Penance" picture.

landscape is seen, in this case, the banquet takes place in a closed room, having two niches, columns, and a green tapestry-like curtain, that hangs on the wall, at about half the height of the hall. Again we see the triclinium of a rich Roman's house, and the guests reclining on couches, after ancient fashion. A slave is introduced who washes Simon's feet, a pendant figure to Mary in the earlier picture. Mary Magdalene stands by the side of her Lord; in tears, she bends over His feet and anoints them with the ointment. Christ's form on the couch seems longer than in other examples, and gains in majesty.

The "Eucharist" of the Del Pozzo series has deteriorated in colour. Poussin keeps the triclinium, but Christ and the three disciples in the centre do not recline, but appear as if sitting upright. John leans on the Saviour's breast. A lamp hangs over the head of Christ, the room looks bare of all ornamentation. "Hoc est corpus meum."—Here is a vast hall adorned with columns of the Tuscan order. Christ wears a white tunic and red mantle, He holds a cup of wine, which He blesses. Peter and John are associated as in Da Vinci's great work,¹ and Peter questions John in

¹ Georges Berger, *L'Art*. Paris, 1877, I. p. 107. Poussin visited Milan, and made a careful study of Da Vinci's "Last Supper," in S. Marie delle Grazie.



ORDINATION.

*From the series 'The Seven Sacraments.' In the possession of the
Duke of Rutland, Belvoir Castle.*

regard to the traitor. A novel arrangement here is the use of four couches, around the four sides of the table, thus bringing the disciples nearer together. A man, standing in the background, places a finger on his mouth, and symbolizes by this action the mystery of the mass as celebrated in the Roman Catholic Church. This work shows some study of Raphael and Leonardo, but more of antique types, in the heads.

The "Ordination" of the first set is well-preserved and has clear, transparent colouring. This picture cannot represent Christ's meeting with His disciples soon after the Resurrection, when He said to Peter, "Feed my sheep," because twelve apostles are here introduced. The sheep are in Raphael's picture of like name. Poussin follows the Italian master in the position given to Christ and Peter who kneels before Him. Christ's form is here seen in profile, while in Raphael's work He faces the spectator, and the disciples are grouped in the centre, their faces mostly in profile. Some study after Leonardo may be traced in the heads. Judas wears a yellow robe and stands at the end of the line. "*Quodcunque lignaveris super.*"—Christ has been moved to the centre and His disciples divided into groups, at either side. This arrangement is somewhat conventional, and the gestures

are too studied. The landscape is the same, in all essential features, in both compositions. Christ, instead of placing the two keys in Peter's hands, as in the earlier painting, holds up one, points heavenwards, and with the other hand makes a gesture towards the earth.

“Marriage.”—This is not an original composition on Poussin's part. Mary and Joseph kneel before a high-priest in the centre of a hall. The men and women present are not strictly separated from each other, three women have found places among the men on the left, and a man stands near the women on the opposite side. A religious ceremony goes on and the simplicity of arrangement helps the effect. “*Maria desponsata Joseph.*”—This scene is less religious in character. A temple, instead of a hall, is garlanded as for a fête. A charming landscape reveals itself, through openings between the columns. In writing to M. de Chantelou about this picture, Poussin said:¹ “Even in painting, nothing is more difficult to make well, than a marriage.”

“Extreme Unction” is considered the best production of the Del Pozzo series. The groups are well defined, and each person has a true part in the composition. The dying man lies quiet on the bed, his eyes are partly closed, his expression

¹ Bouchitté, p. 161.

one of peace. Three women, one of whom carries a baby, watch anxiously the sick man's face. The servant and physician, the priest and his attendant, the wife and her children, each, in turn, has for us the interest of real persons. The action and sentiment of each figure are admirably rendered with a fine truth to nature. "Orient syper evm vngentes."—In this work the scene has become more dramatic, and perhaps less effective. In both examples, the fine horizontal lines of the couch, with the extended form of the man upon it, aid the conception. Richer surroundings, tapestry hangings and pieces of armour on the walls, indicate that this man is of high rank and probably an officer. A genre feature is here introduced: the father turns on his couch, and notices his child, held up to view by the mother. A doctor has nearly the same position in the two pictures, and preparations by attendants show that hope has not been abandoned. A priest in the earlier work anoints the dying man's brow, here, his hand.

On the whole, the greatest improvement in the later pictures, over the Del Pozzo series, may be noticed in "Penance" and the "Eucharist." In these, the scattered figures are combined into finer groups, and the action gains in force. M. de Chantelou's "Baptism" has a better balanced arrangement, but shows no improvement in the

landscape. "Confirmation," "Marriage," and "Extreme Unction" of the first set are less conventional, less elaborate in details, fresher, and more interesting, than the pictures of like name of the second series. It is true that only children come to be confirmed in the first; wreaths, garlands, and decorative features are omitted in the second; while in the third picture, the group around the bed is limited to the priest, doctor, near relatives, and necessary servants, but, in each case, this restriction of the subject appears to be a decided gain. Roland de Chambray, who saw both sets soon after their completion, says: "The Roman pictures have defective colour and harsh execution, but they surpass those in France in delicacy of conception and beauty of expression."¹ With the two great paintings of the Extreme Unction should be connected a third still greater work—"The Testament of Eudamidas" (Count Moltke, Copenhagen). Poussin found his theme in Lucian's dialogue on Friendship.² Eudamidas of Corinth is poor, but he has two friends to whom, when dying, he bequeaths his mother and daughter. Aretes is to care for his mother, Charixenes is to marry off and

¹ Roland de Chambray, *Essais sur la vie du Poussin*. Rome, 1783.

² Lucian, *Toxaris*, 22, 23.



dowry his daughter Caritzene. Charixenes died five days later, but the surviving friend faithfully carried out the testament. Five figures are seen, of which two, the doctor and the woman in grief at the foot of the bed, correspond to two, the priest and woman, in the "Extreme Unction" pictures. With fewer persons, greater simplicity of arrangement, and the same strong horizontal lines, nothing here diverts our attention from the chief figure and deep meaning of the scene. "Extreme Unction" portrays the need of religion in a dying hour, the Church as offering consolation, and the heart's grief of those closely related when parted. In Eudamidas, we see the hand of an historical painter, faithful to the narrative which he treats with insight, like a page from real life.¹

To exclude Nicolas Poussin's sacred compositions from religious art, because they contain manifold evidence of intimate acquaintance with antiquity, would be unjust; he is a true Christian painter, although his treatment of such subjects may lack warmth. The "Testament of Eudamidas," in its reposeful, monumental, yet rhythmic lines,

¹ Napoleon I. said: "I know the 'Death of Eudamidas' in an engraving that I had with me in Egypt. When one has seen that austere composition and the 'Death of Germanicus,' it is not possible to forget them. Denon, our school is weak. We should return to the manner and thought of Poussin." M. Courtois, *Recueil de la Soc. Polytech.* Paris, 1849, p. 141.

resembles a fine Greek work, and also a Renaissance production, in the expression of intense, natural, but restrained emotion. Poussin is not less a Christian, nor more a Pagan, because he has thus buried himself in the situation and reproduced it so perfectly. In this painting, such qualities as a breadth of comprehension of form and knowledge of soul-life are associated with a kind of solemn gravity that well suits the theme.

After 1648, when the painter had finished the second pictures of the "Seven Sacraments," he managed with great tact to meet the most pressing demands of other patrons, without offending M. de Chantelou. He writes to him,¹ October 8, 1649: "Do not think ill of me, if I work for others. It is not well to be one-sided, and an artist cannot paint by fits and starts. . . . At this time I am engaged on commissions for more than twenty distinguished persons." Among those who desired a picture from Poussin, was the Abbé Paul Scarron (1610—1660). He had made the painter's acquaintance in Rome in 1634, and preferred his request through Paul de Chantelou, to whom the master at once wrote that he could do nothing for the Abbé. In February 1647 Poussin reports:² "I have received from France a ridiculous book

¹ MS. 12347, p. 216.

² *Ibid.* July 29, 1646.

of witty sayings, sent by M. Scarron without any note of explanation. I have looked through the book once, and that will do for ever. You will understand that I do not express all the distaste I have for such works." Some months later he says :¹ "I have written to M. Scarron in reply to a letter from him which came with his *Typhon Burlesques*. I wish his fancy for my work would cease, his burlesque is not to *my* taste, even if my painting be to *his*. I am sorry that he has taken the trouble to send me his book ; what is more grievous, he threatens me with his *Virgile Travesti* and an *Epistle* which he has dedicated to me. He pretends to make me laugh, but, on the contrary, I am ready to weep because a new Herostratus has appeared in our country. I tell you this in confidence, do not wish him to know my opinion." In response to more urging from his patron in Paris, he answers :² "Some day I will serve M. Scarron ; at present I am too busy." Later, he adds :³ "I have found 'a thought' for a Bacchanal for M. Scarron." In a postscript, May 8, 1650, he says :⁴ "It is M. Scarron's turn now." A change of subject is indicated in a final notice, May 29, 1650 :⁵ "I shall soon despatch to

¹ MS. 12347, p. 171.

² *Ibid.* p. 190.

³ *Ibid.* p. 195-6.

⁴ *Ibid.* p. 206.

⁵ Quatremère de Quincy, p. 312.

you M. Abbé Scarron's picture of the 'Vision of St. Paul.' You will see it and tell me your opinion." Poussin painted the subject of the "Vision of the Apostle Paul" three times: the first picture, executed for M. de Chantelou in 1643, is now in England (Mr. George Watson Taylor); Abbé Scarron's example hangs in the gallery of the Louvre; the third painting is known in an unsigned engraving (National Library, Paris). The painter's letters inform us that the earliest work was designed as a pendant to a painting bought by M. de Chantelou in Bologna, namely, "The Vision of Ezekiel," by Raphael. (A replica of the picture is now in the Pitti Gallery, Florence.) For some time after his return to Rome, Poussin continued to furnish cartoons for the "Grande Galerie," and also to direct the copyists in the Farnese Palace, so that he could not begin his little St. Paul picture before October 1643, and undertook the task with great hesitation. He writes to his friend: "I fear my trembling hand will fail me in making a picture to accompany one by Raphael. I can hardly decide to commence it, until I have your promise that my painting shall be used only as a covering for Raphael's."¹ After sending the work December 2, 1645, he begged M. de Chantelou to hang it at

¹ Félibien, t. IV. p. 51.

a distance from the "Vision of Ezekiel," in order to avoid comparison and loss on his part. "The Vision of St. Paul" (No. 1) has the same dimensions as Raphael's "Vision of Ezekiel," that is, both pictures are eighteen inches high by thirteen inches wide. They resemble each other in the presentation of a chief figure caught up to the highest heavens, and accompanied by angels. Jehovah, in Raphael's creation, is upborne by winged animals, the symbols of Mark, Luke, and John, while the cherubs only support his arms. His head is bowed, hair and beard are ruffled by the wind, the body uncovered to the lower limbs. Matthew's symbol, the winged angel, adores Jehovah, but does not assist in his support. Poussin's inspiration came, in part, from Domenichino, whose "Ecstasy of St. Paul" presents this saint supported by two cherubs and an angel. In this picture, the apostle's head is thrown back more than in Poussin's composition, and his arms are not so widely extended, but upheld, as in Raphael's work. Poussin adopts a different grouping from both; he introduces two angels without wings, and two cherubs. This arrangement looks somewhat like an inverted triangle, the feet of the lower angel and those of the cherub, whose head is between the saint's knees, form the apex. St. Paul wears ample draperies, which form a

background for the other figures ; these leave free only his left wrist, hand, and right arm. One sees under the saint's left arm an angel's head ; his shoulder and the arm, thrown around St. Paul, are uncovered. Both the angel and cherub on the right appear in profile, those on the opposite side *en face*. The figure of the apostle in Domenichino's picture seems to be seated on the clouds, the line of his body slants from right to left. Poussin's St. Paul rises rapidly upwards, and the whole form comes into view. The same difference in conception and direction of the movement belongs to Domenichino's "Assumption of the Virgin" (Hermitage Gallery, St. Petersburg), and his ceiling picture of the same subject (St. Maria Trastevere, Rome), as compared with the "Assumption of the Virgin" (Louvre) by Poussin. All three artists felt the influence of the Creation scenes on the Sistine Chapel ceiling, in the Vatican. Each exhibits great freedom, although each has received inspiration from other minds. Less passionate movement, a change of direction, and a massing of the attendant forms, so as to call attention to St. Paul, are the chief improvements in Poussin's work over that of his master Domenichino. Abbé Scarron's picture is an admirable example of Poussin's replica style. Three winged angels bear Paul upwards ; one of these noble

figures, with outstretched wings, towers above the saint, and raising one arm, hand, and index-finger, points heavenwards. She lightly touches the saint's left hand. Below her, under the left arm of Paul, is an angel whose face is almost lost in the shadows. A lovely form, on the right, has her face upturned, and extends an arm to support St. Paul. Beneath the ascending figures, on the steps of an edifice, lie a book and a naked sword. Between the piers of this building can be seen a landscape of river, city, and hills. The clouds have the same colours as in "Time rescues Truth," and the "Miracle of St. Xavier." The draperies of the angel, towering above Paul, are pale yellow and light green in colour. The angel on the right wears violet-blue garments, the one on the opposite side, yellow or orange. St. Paul has a green under-garment, with a red mantle above. An absence of nude child-forms, and a lack of marked contrast between old and young figures, characteristic of No. 1, but lacking here, make a real loss. We notice greater elaboration in grouping and details, and also greater intensity of expression in the angels' faces, but these features draw away our attention from St. Paul. On the whole, the first example seems fresher, less inventive than the second, and best realizes the conception. No. 3 of this subject is a doubtful work. Two

angels support the apostle; above him are grouped five cherubs; below the saint is a figure holding a sword.

Two important portraits of Nicolas Poussin were painted by himself in the years 1649 and 1650. "I shall endeavour to satisfy you,"¹ he writes, December 22, 1647, "in regard to my portrait, and also with respect to the Madonna picture." In August of the following year, he explains²: "I should have made my portrait, had I wished to spend a dozen pistoles for a head after Mignard's fashion. He is one of those painters who make portraits most successfully, although they are cold, painty, and without vitality. June 20, 1649, he announced³: 'I have begun one of my portraits, and shall soon commence the other. I shall send you the one that turns out the better, but to avoid jealousy, please say nothing about this to any one. . .'" Some months later he writes⁴: "I should have replied to your last letter with great satisfaction, if I had had good news to tell you. My portrait is not done. I confess frankly, I am lazy about it, and I take little pleasure in finishing the work. It is twenty-eight years since I painted a portrait, and I have lost all my skill; nevertheless, your

¹ MS. 12347, p. 188. ² *Ibid.* p. 195. ³ *Ibid.* p. 212.

⁴ Quatremère de Quincy, p. 312.

picture will be completed, for I care more to please you than myself." May 29, 1650, he reports¹: "I have finished my portrait. I could send it, but one of my friends wishes a copy; this will cause some delay. M. Pointel will receive, at the same time, the one promised him. You are not to be jealous, I have chosen the better one for you. You will see the difference. I think this portrait ought to be regarded as a proof of my deep affection for you, greater than for any other living person. I do not say much about my labour lest you think I place an undue value upon the picture. I shall be fully recompensed if you are satisfied with it." This work must have given satisfaction to M. de Chantelou, for the painter says, in his letter of August 29, 1650²: "The real importance of my portrait and the esteem in which you hold it, are out of all proportion. So is also the merit of the work as compared with the price you have paid. I find excess in all this. I promised myself that you would receive my little present with good-will, but did not expect anything more. It suffices that you should give this picture a place in your collection, without filling my purse with pistoles. This is a kind of tyranny which puts me under an obligation that I

¹ Quatremère de Quincy, p. 316.

² Bouchitté, p. 173.

cannot discharge.”¹ The earlier portrait presents a half-length view of the artist. His eyes are turned in the direction of the spectator. The hair, parted in the middle, falls on the neck in thick locks. The body is enveloped in a mantle which is thrown over the right shoulder. In one hand he holds a drawing-pen, the other rests on a large book, bearing the title *De Lumine et Colere*. On a tablet appear in Latin his name, age, profession, and the date. Two genii hold this tablet, and also the ends of a long festoon of laurel leaves. This portrait for M. Pointel, was copied by the painter for M. Cerisiers.² Both the first painting and the replica have disappeared, but

¹ The date here given is important, because Poussin painted on this canvas, as already cited on page 1, his age as fifty-six in 1650. If his birth took place in June, and he was fifty-six in May 1650, he must have been born in 1593.

² M. Pointel, for whom the painter made his portrait, finished in 1649, was a rich banker in Paris. His name occurs quite often in the letters; he proved himself a good friend and valued patron. For him, the artist executed at least nine paintings, namely: “Rebecca and Eliezer,” 1647, Louvre; “Moses saved from the Nile,” 1647, Louvre; “Polyphemus,” 1648, Hermitage Gallery; “The Holy Family” with ten figures, 1649, Liechtenstein Gal., Vienna; “The Judgment of Solomon,” 1649, Louvre; two landscapes, “Tempest” and “Serene Weather,” 1651, Mr. Edward Coxe, Holkham House, England; “Christ as Gardener,” 1653, Prado Gallery, Madrid.

M. Cerisiers was a merchant in Lyons who greatly admired Poussin’s art.

they are well-known through Jean Pesne's engraving. The portrait made for M. de Chantelou is the better likeness. This represents the artist standing in his atelier, his body turned three-quarters to the left, his face in nearly front view. He is wrapped in a mantle, and the right hand, on whose little finger is seen a seal ring, rests on a portfolio or roll tied together. His complexion is olive in tone, hair dark brown, moustache and tuft of beard are also brown. Behind a red screen in the background hang several pictures in frames, on one appears the head of Thermutis. Size, three feet by two feet four inches. The chief difference in these portraits lies in the expression of character. At fifty-six, the painter's hardest experiences were over, but they had left traces behind. The face of the Louvre portrait bears a grave, somewhat austere look. Other portraits ascribed to Nicolas Poussin are : " Cardinal Julius Rospigliosi " (Montpellier Museum, France) ; and " François Du Quesnoy " (Lord Cowper, Pan-shanger, England). This last-named may be the picture referred to by the master when he said : " It is twenty-eight years since I painted a portrait." A portrait of Nicolas Poussin, owned by the Marquis of Bute, Luton House, England, is now thought to be the work of Le Valetin (Jean Boullogne, 1591—1632), a French artist

who formed one of the colony that centred about Poussin, but whose style somewhat resembled Caravaggio's.¹ In some catalogues, an engraved portrait of Padre Luigi Bourdaloue is assigned to Nicolas Poussin. This print bears the following inscription : "Effigie del Padre Luigi Bourdaloue della Compagnia di Gesù, celeberrimo Predicatore, nato a Bourges li 20 Agosto 1652, morto li 13 Maggio 1704, di mano del famoso Poussino."

In the full face, bowed tonsured head, lowered eyes, clasped hands, and benevolent features of this well-fed monk, there is not the slightest trace of Nicolas Poussin's hand or style. Cardinal Julius Rospigliosi's likeness deserves special notice, as being the only well-attested work of this kind, except the portraits of the master by himself. From these three pictures one may draw conclusions respecting the artist's merits as a portraitist. In an oval frame, on which is inscribed : " EMINENTISSIMVS IVLIVS CARDINALIS ROSPIGLIOSIVS," appears a nearly full view of the head and shoulders of this prelate. He wears the hat and robe of a cardinal. In the broad high brow, full eyes, aquiline nose, strong chin, sunken cheeks, and narrow face, one may read something of the man's nature. Julius Rospigliosi (1599—1669) belonged to a

¹ *Catalogue de l'École des Beaux-Arts.* Paris.

noble family of Pistoja. Urban VIII. sent him to Spain, where he remained eleven years. In 1644 he was recalled, and, during the conclave for the election of a new pope, governed Rome. Alexander VII. created him a cardinal and made him his secretary. In June 1667, this cardinal became Pope Clement IX. Passeri says¹: "The cardinal esteemed our painter highly, and had Poussin lived to see the new pope, he would have received substantial proofs of his regard."

From the various accounts, given by the early biographers, one may obtain a fairly accurate conception of Nicolas Poussin's physical appearance, his habits of work, and manner of life in Rome. "He was tall, carried himself erect, and was well-proportioned in form; he had bright blue eyes, a large thin nose, a broad forehead, and a resolute look."² Poussin's Boswell says³: "He led a regular life, rising early and taking a walk for one or two hours, sometimes in the city, but more often on Mt. Pincio, not far from his house. From these lovely gardens, he could enjoy the view of Rome on its hills; there he met his friends and discoursed on curious and learned topics. Returning home, he set immediately to work and painted until mid-day. After a meal,

¹ Passeri, p. 358.

² Félibien, t. IV. p. 77.

³ Bellori, p. 284.

he worked again for some hours, and accomplished more by his persevering application than others by their facility. In the evening he went out again and walked on the Piazza di Spagna, at the foot of the hill, in the midst of the strangers who congregate there. He always had friends with him, and often they made a kind of retinue. In this manner he met those who desired to see him and testify their affection. He was accessible to all men, willingly listened to others, and his remarks always received attention. He spoke often of art, and so clearly, that artists and all cultivated men of talent came to hear his beautiful and profound thoughts about painting. He discoursed not for the purpose of teaching, but as if the words came to him on the spot. He had read and observed much, and presented in conversation no subject that he had not thoroughly studied. His words and thoughts were so just, so well-ordered, that they appeared the result of careful meditation, and never as if improvised. His superiority consisted in his having a good mind and a variety of reading, which embraced not only history, fable, and erudition of all kinds, but also knowledge of the liberal arts and philosophy. In this he was helped by Latin, although he knew the language but imperfectly. Italian he spoke as a second native tongue. He pos-

sessed good judgment, discernment in making a choice, and an excellent memory—three most desirable gifts.” Maria Graham tells us (pp. 1—7), that Nicolas Poussin cultivated philosophy and literature, because he regarded these studies as necessary to the perfection of his art. He was modest and simple in manner, sweet, pious, and loving in his home, and well-deserved to be cherished, respected, and admired. His industry was indefatigable ; in his moments of repose, and even in his pleasure, he did not lose sight of the grand end, perfection in the art he cultivated. He thought it not enough for a painter to know different aspects of nature, colour, and brush-work, he must also penetrate the folds of the human heart, study sentiments and human passions, possess a knowledge of history and mythology, study the customs and dress of ancient and modern nations, and give to figures their appropriate action.” Roland de Chambray, who was a personal friend, thus describes this man¹: “He had a noble bearing, striking and severe features, a piercing glance, an independent character, and a soul nourished by lofty thoughts. In manner he was simple and modest. He liked to use figures and poetical forms in conversation.

¹ M. de Chambray, *Essais sur la vie du Poussin*. Rome, 1783, p. 13.

For instance : ‘ Raphael is an angel as compared with us, he had a soul like one of the ancients.’ ” A traveller of that period, Bonaventure d’Argonne, thus narrates¹ : “ During my sojourn in Rome, I often saw Poussin at his home and at the house of M. Del Pozzo. I admired the extreme love this excellent painter had for perfection in his art. I met him among the ruins of Rome, in the Campagna, and on the banks of the Tiber, and I saw him carry home stones, moss, flowers, and other things, in order to paint them from nature. One day I asked him how he had attained such an elevation among the greatest artists of Italy. He answered modestly, ‘ I have neglected nothing.’ ”

Many allusions in Nicolas Poussin’s correspondence reveal his deep interest in the political events of his time and his manifest patriotism. August 2, 1648, he writes to M. de Chantelou² : “ Without doubt, affairs at home are not so indifferent to me that I do not desire, as a good Frenchman, to see them better conducted than they have been for some years. If this disorder could, as often happens, be the cause of some reforms, I, as one individual, would rejoice, and I

¹ M. de Vigneul-Marville, *Mélanges d’Histoire et de Littérature*. Paris, 1725, p. 152.

² MS. 12347, p. 195.

imagine all good men must feel the same. I fear indeed the evil spirit of this century ; virtue, conscience and religion cease from among men. Only vice, double-dealing and self-interest reign. All is lost ; the remedies employed have not power enough to remove the evil. What use to cut off the finger if the arm has become mortified ?” The regency of Anna of Austria commenced in 1643, after the death of Louis XIII., and the ministry of Cardinal Mazarin which followed lasted until 1661. During this period, France continued war in Germany until the Peace of Münster in 1648 ; in Spain, Italy and against the Spanish branch of the House of Austria in the Netherlands until the Peace of the Pyrenees in 1659. During the years 1648—1653 the country was almost continually agitated by civil dissensions, known as the War of Paris and the Fronde. It is to these civil troubles that the passage quoted refers. Poussin says¹ : “February 7, 1649. God grant that all may end for His great glory, and, at the same time, for the good and repose of our poor country. When that is so, we will kindle fires of rejoicing. Until then, we cannot laugh from a happy heart.” May 2, 1641, he inquires anxiously of his beloved patron² : “Monsieur, since the war began in

¹ MS. 12347, p. 206.

² *Ibid.* p. 208.

Paris, I have received no word from you. I do not know whether you have been, like others, shut in, or whether, through good-luck, you have got out. M. Pointel has written me since the Treaty, and told me several marvellous things which have taken place during the investment." The Queen and Court left Paris for St. Germain January 6, 1649, the siege began the next day. The war was short, and an agreement ended it, May 11, 1649. Louis XIV., his mother, Cardinal Mazarin and Condé re-entered the capital August 18, 1649. Poussin thought the treaty premature, and took a gloomy view of the situation:¹ "You write me a little about the sad condition of our affairs in poor France. I assure you, all has been foreseen for years, even down to the smallest particulars. What has surprised every one, and augurs our total ruin, is this treaty which we have made, when we should have died sooner. We shall be the mockery of the world. No one will pity us, if all possible evil come upon us. We shall be put on a level with the Neapolitans and treated like them. The future, about which we think little, is more to be feared than the present. Let us save ourselves, if we can, by hiding under the sheep's skin, and avoiding the bloody hands of the furious Cyclop." ² (Polyphemus here pre-

¹ MS. 12347, p. 210.

² Homer, *Odysseus*.

figures Cardinal Mazarin.) It is evident that Nicolas Poussin was opposed to the policy of the Court. His constant use of the personal pronoun shows how he identified himself as a Frenchman with the affairs of his native land. He felt interested, also, in the making of history in other countries, especially in the affairs of Italy, which had become a second home to him. "We have," he announces,¹ "strange news from England (the death of Charles I.), also some word from Naples. Poland is all topsy-turvy. God grant, by His grace, that France may be preserved from all the perils which menace her. We are here in this world, God knows how and why. It is, however, a great pleasure to live in a century when important things take place, if only one can put himself under cover, in some corner of the stage, and see the comedy at his ease." For the government of Urban VIII. the painter had little respect. He speaks frequently of this pope's state of health. In his letter of April 8, 1644, he writes²: "We are assured that peace has been made between the Pope and Messieurs de la Ligue. We await the announcement. His Holiness is not well; if he fail us, God may give us a better man." One of the most important events in Urban VIII.'s reign, which lasted twenty-one years, was a war against the Duke of Parma in 1642. The Vene-

¹ MS. 12347, p. 205.

² *Ibid.* p. 116.

tians, the Grand Duke of Tuscany, and the Duke of Modena formed a league to resist Urban, or rather his cardinal nephews. The mediation of France in 1644 procured a peace. "No one talks of anything else," he says.¹ "God grant it, we desire it much." Here the artist identified himself with the Romans, who disapproved of the war, and found its burdens heavy. "Tuesday next," he reports,² "all the cardinals meet in conclave to elect a new pope; God grant that we may be better governed in the future than in the past." Poussin found affairs in Rome not much improved under Innocent X., who felt unfriendly to the French and favoured the Spanish, to whom he owed his election. He was hostile to Cardinal Mazarin. Jean Baptiste Panfili or Innocent X. (1574—1655) belonged to a noble Roman family. He reigned as pope eleven years. Poussin's hopes in respect to him were soon disappointed. "Things have changed," he laments.³—"You know we are not in favour at this court." He had great difficulty in obtaining a permit to send to France his purchases for M. de Chantelou. He writes indignantly: "All the trouble comes from having to deal with a tyrant who is our enemy." The Barberini princes, his patrons, sought a refuge in France, and only became reconciled to Innocent X. after parting with the greater share of their possessions. A

¹ MS. 12347, p. 129.² *Ibid.* p. 148.³ *Ibid.* p. 152.

whole budget of news is compressed into a few sentences, in a letter dated May 24, 1649: "The Spanish have banished the Archbishop Filomarino, and sent the Duke of Guise, as a prisoner, to Spain. Prince de Gallicano is in this city, on parole; the Spaniards will force him to return to Naples. Duke de Montesarchio has revealed, being influenced by promises and torture, several secrets, that compromise some great personages. The new spouse goes to Spain to continue the mad race. The Pope will spend August in the Duchy of Castro and gather grapes for the Duke of Parma. The Italians put Jules (Mazarin) above Cæsar." Poussin refers to the marriage of Philip IV. of Spain to the Archduchess Marie Anna of Austria, and to a renewal of hostilities between Innocent X. and the Duke of Parma-Farnese. A third pope came to the throne during Poussin's life in Rome. Alexander VII., Fabio Chigi, who succeeded Innocent X. and reigned thirteen years. As before, so now, the French and Spanish courts contended with each other for superior influence and power in Rome. The successes of their armies in Rome brought the French into ascendancy. Alexander VII. did not love them, but was forced to treat them well. Poussin's letters contain but few allusions to this period, which covers the last ten years of his life.

CHAPTER V

WORKS AND FOLLOWERS

Development of Landscape Backgrounds—Landscapes with Architectural Features—Ideal and Philosophical Landscapes—Allegorical Compositions and Interiors—Giovanni and Gaspard Dughet—Jacques Stella and other Followers—Poussin's Engravers.

EVEN in the first period of Nicolas Poussin's residence in Rome, studies of natural scenery appear in the background of his paintings, as a setting for the figures or as a stage for action. A good example of this use of landscape is seen in "The Gathering of Manna," a picture finished in 1639 for M. de Chantelou (Louvre). Here, perhaps, if anywhere, may be found in the rocks and landscape, some likeness to the chalk-cliffs, ruins of Castle Gaillard, and scenery about Poussin's home in Normandy. The landscape occupies fully half of the space; the many small forms of the Israelites, gathering manna, are distributed over the first and second planes of the

picture. Study of ancient art (notice the heads, after those of the Laocoon, Wrestlers, Niobe, Seneca, and others), and a knowledge of the laws of human nature, have aided the artist in designing his groups and in introducing action suited to such a theme. In this respect, "The Manna" bears a resemblance to Murillo's "La Sed" (Thirst), in the Hospital de la Caridad, Seville, and might well be called *Hunger*. Poussin thus speaks of it¹: "In regard to the movement of the figures and their expressions, I think you will be able to recognize that there are some who languish, wonder, and have pity; others express desire, necessity, need of love and consolation. The first seven persons, on the left hand, will embody, in their action, all that I have written; the rest is of the same character. Read the history in connection with the picture, to see if everything is appropriate to this subject?" On the right is an enormous mass of rocks, so cleft as to make a way that leads down to the valley, where the Israelites have pitched their tents. Clusters of trees stand, to the left, on the higher levels, where more rocks are seen. In the centre, the view opens and extends nearly to the horizon line, where high mountains loom up. This composition

¹ MS. 12347, April 13, 1639.

shows much thought and invention, both as regards the action and the landscape.

“The Death of Narcissus”¹ (Louvre). In addition to the three characters who claim our interest, the landscape is also worthy of notice. Echo is followed by Amor, bearing a lighted torch; she leans against a pile of rocks, at the base of trees whose upper branches cannot be seen. In sorrow, she listens to the last sighs of Narcissus, who, having looked at his beautiful features, reflected in the water, dies, as predicted by the Theban prophet Tiresias. The flowers of like name, near him, are most carefully painted from nature, the rocks look like those in “The Manna.”

In “Rinaldo and Armida,” in the Dulwich Gallery, the artist uses a scene from Tasso’s *Jerusalem Delivered*.² Rinaldo reposes on the border of the Orontes, under the shade of a clump of trees which lack tops. Armida comes, with a dagger in her hand, prepared to take revenge for the loss of the prisoners whom the warrior has snatched from her. At first sight of the hero, as Cupid by her side indicates, Armida is overcome by love. Amor holds her arm back and prevents the deed. Of the three mighty trees, only the trunks and lower branches are visible, and these last have no foliage.

¹ Ovid, *Metam.* lib. III. fab. 6.

² Canto XVII.



The history of the city of London, from the first settlement of the Britons, to the present time, is a subject of great interest and importance. It is a subject which has attracted the attention of many of the most distinguished writers of the age. The history of London is a subject which has attracted the attention of many of the most distinguished writers of the age. The history of London is a subject which has attracted the attention of many of the most distinguished writers of the age.

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"The Nurture of Jupiter," in the Berlin Gallery, presents a group of four figures, near a stone well, some rocks, and a dead tree, the latter serving as a trellis for vines. On the left is a wide perspective of plain and hills. Poussin took the composition from Giulio Romano (engraved by P. S. Bari). In Romano's picture a woman, seated on the ground, raises a cup to obtain water from a spring. A corybant and a nymph hold the head and leg of the goat Amalthea, while the infant Jupiter takes nourishment after the most primitive fashion. A second man watches a flock of sheep. Poussin's work omits the shepherd and his flock, and displays greater refinement in the details. The baby Jupiter drinks the goat's milk out of an elegant silver vase or cup held by one of the two nymphs. At the left is a woman seated by the fountain, she removes honey-comb from a bee-hive above the well. She has lovely arms and hands, and very dainty fingers. An earlier painting of this subject is now in the Dulwich Gallery. In this example, Poussin follows more closely his model, and seems less individual in the treatment of details.

Some of the landscape features, already noticed, reappear in "Midas before Bacchus" (Munich Gallery). Here are the well and goat, and also a dog. As before, the painter places the chief

actors on the left, with a group of trees behind them, and, on the opposite side, leaves the view open, extending to distant low hills. As in all the earlier Bacchanals, so here, landscape, colouring, and forms reveal close study of the great Venetian masters Giorgione and Titian. Midas, king of the Phrygians, kneels before Bacchus, and beseeches him to take back the gift by which all that he touches turns to gold. Near the standing nude god sits Silenus asleep. On the ground, in front, lie Ariadne and a Cupid, also sleeping. In the shade of the trees, behind Bacchus, stand two Fauns who are playing on reed-pipes ; on the ground at their feet lies a panther. At the right of Midas, in front, are two children playing with a goat ; one of the boys, who holds a mask before his face, has tumbled over on the ground, the other little Love-god, chubby and garlanded, tries to pull the goat away and help his comrade.

Another example, "The Entombment," also in the Munich Gallery, presents trunks of some trees, perhaps yews, whose wide-spreading branches seem abruptly cut off at the top. It looks as though the artist's canvas had given out, or as though he could not find the right scale of dimensions. In fact, Poussin borrowed this feature, as well as his peculiar rocks, from Giulio Romano. Ancient funeral urns belong to such a

place, but are studies from reliefs and classical works. The open view is on the right. Mary, seated on the ground, holds the head of her Son on her lap. Mary Magdalene bends over the dead body of her Lord and laments her great loss. Nicodemus is preparing the tomb, while John, seated on the edge of the grave, wrings his hands and gives way to despairing grief. Two little cherubs at the feet of the Christ are weeping after childish fashion. In this "Entombment" the painter may have received inspiration for his John-figure from Garofalo's "Deposition," in Villa Borghese, Rome. Mary Magdalene is Titianesque.

Nicolas Poussin's works furnish numerous examples of landscapes with buildings, trees, hills, and a river in the middle ground, the whole a fine stage for the drama. Such, for instance, are the five representations of "Moses saved from the Nile," and some of the Holy Families. Number 713 in the Louvre, presents Joseph standing in the centre, his hands folded as if in worship of the Christ-child, lying on the lap of the Virgin. In front of the seated Mary kneels Elizabeth and the little John, who offer homage to the Child-Jesus. Poussin has adopted a triangular form for this group, an arrangement dear to Leonardo and Perugino. The lovely landscape

which stretches away in the far distance resembles an Umbrian idyl. More direct inspiration came, however, from Raphael. (Compare this picture with the "Canigiani Madonna," Munich.) Number 714 in the Louvre also places this same family group in the centre and foreground, all are seated near a house under the shade of two great trees, minus tops. John gives the Christ-child a band on which is inscribed "Agnus Dei." Lord Yarborough has in his collection in London a painting by Nicolas Poussin of a Holy Family; in this, Mary is seen resting at the base of some columns, Christ stands on her knee, and has one arm thrown around His mother's neck. Elizabeth kneels before them and presents her child, while Joseph, leaning on a broken pedestal, watches the group. Buildings on low hills, city walls, and a triumphal arch, form the background. On the right is a huge basin into which water falls from a spring, and overflowing, nourishes various plants and grasses. This painting has some likeness to Raphael's "Pearl" in the Prado Gallery.

Many landscapes, having prominent architectural features, belong to Poussin's second Roman period. "The Plague at Rome," in the Czernin Collection, Vienna, furnishes a good example of this. Two men are seen dragging a corpse to the mouth of a vault whose opening is already

barred by dead bodies. A man, enveloped in a white mantle, and bearing a resemblance to the priest in "St. Erasmus," directs the bearers where to go, by his side is a jackal-like dog. On the high platform of the receptacle we notice a group of six men. The man who has a pointed beard, and whose hair, tossed by the wind, has fallen over on his brow, is a companion figure of a man in M. de Chantelou's "Baptism." Broken columns, in this picture, take the place of the half-seen trees in other works, while sarcophagi and tombs indicate a cemetery. Beyond the arch stretches the Campagna. Poussin must have delighted in the Castle of St. Angelo at Rome. This fortress appears first in his drawing of the "Destruction of Jerusalem," then later in the "Faeliscian School-master;" it forms, also, a prominent feature in the "Continence of Scipio," and "Orpheus and Eurydice."

Streets, lined with buildings, the place for the presentation of some religious or historical narrative, are comparatively few in number. Only titles of pictures under this class are here mentioned: "Rebecca and Eliezar"; "The Healing of the Blind Men of Jericho"; "Christ and the Adulteress"; "The Plague at Ashdod"; "The Rape of the Sabines"; "The Death of Sapphira" (these works are in the Louvre);

“The Plague” (National Gallery, London); “John and Peter Healing the Lame Man” (said to be owned by Mr. Wilkins, England); “The Triumph of David” (Dulwich Gallery). In this street architecture, the painter employs a very conventional treatment, and appears a close follower of Raphael, as well as other Renaissance masters. Something pedantic and stiff pertains to the arrangement, which is a mixture less free, inventive and charming in these backgrounds, than in his description of Roman architecture, such as triumphal arches and ruined temples, associated with the Campagna or open country. These buildings, traced with mathematical precision, seem the work of one who has gained some head knowledge of the subject, but no actual practice in construction. All these studies, however interesting and pleasing, offer little that is novel or original. They afford proof of personal observation on Poussin’s part and were of positive value for him, in preparing the way for other compositions, where landscape is made less and less an accessory to an historical scene or a stage for some figures. An excellent illustration of this point is furnished by “St. Matthew with the Angel” in the Berlin Gallery. Here the architecture has dwindled to a few broken or fallen columns, that lie on the ground near the radiant



ST. MATTHEW AND THE ANGEL.

In the Berlin Gallery. After a photograph by Franz Hanfstaengl. Munich.

angel in white robes, who dictates to St. Matthew his gospel. Our eyes wander freely past these two forms to enjoy the harmonious view of clear, serene and warm Campagna scenery. A river fills a large space in the middle plane, trees stand on a height, further away rises a ruin above a low hill, the plain extends to the distant mountains. In this and other examples, it is not necessary to dwell upon Nicolas Poussin's models, found in the Venetian and Bolognese schools, those masters who now and then made true essays in landscape art. His best teacher was love of nature about Rome. This speaks in every line of his great pieces. Others indicated the way; long residence in Italy, constant observation, and artistic taste accomplished the rest.

Landscape, under the brush of this master, takes on a grave and austere appearance, befitting representations of Roman scenery. Here, indeed, he seems to "neglect nothing." If hitherto only fragments of trees and bare rocks have been seen, now come a wealth of verdure and trees of lofty proportions. A good instance of this progress is furnished in "Diogenes" (Louvre), painted in 1648, for M. Lumarque, a rich banker and collector in Genoa. Diogenes sees a young man drinking water from the hollow of his hand, and forthwith throws away his dish as superfluous.

The two figures are the merest episode in the scenery. Another title for the painting is "Valley in the Environs of Athens." Poussin's imagination and learned studies assisted him in the formation of such a picture. One may call this studio work, since memory came to the aid of his sketches, and no precise spot can be identified; he never gives the scenery of either Greece or Palestine, the landscape is always Italian in character and generally Roman. It would be a mistake, however, to put all these works into one class and thus quickly dispose of the subject. Breadth and nobleness, austerity and sublimity characterize the best landscapes. The figures of persons in these become of small account. It matters little that pictures bear such titles as: "Two Nymphs at a Fountain" (Chantilly); "A Man at a Fountain" (Dulwich); "Two Travelers" (Montpellier); "St. Jerome in the Desert" (Prado); "Hercules and Cacus" (Hermitage). The chief interest in these and many other examples lies in the landscape. Ideally poetical landscapes belong to Poussin's mature, late years, and are the last, best words of his fruitful genius. Among the forty or more paintings entitled to be called landscapes, some deserve a special designation. They deal with moods, particular sensations, and changing weather. In the "Entomb-

ment " and " Plague," already noticed, the painter adapted the scenery to a special rite or place, but many of his landscapes partake of a still more marked philosophical and abstract character. A fine illustration of this treatment of scenery as an adjunct to thought, is " The Affrighted Traveller," painted in 1650, for M. Pointel (known only in an engraving by Stephen Baudet). At the foot of a tree near a stream, lies a man about whose body an enormous serpent has wound itself. Two travellers seek to quench their thirst, when suddenly one of them meets death in this horrible manner. His companion flies in terror. Poussin found this motive of fear in Apuleius.¹ Fear shows itself in the open mouth, the distorted features of the face, the raised hair and loud cries of the survivor, and communicates itself from him to a woman not far off, who at first seems stupefied, but rallies to seek a place of safety. At a little distance recline, on the grass, two men who hear the sounds and give attention. On the river, in a boat, are other persons who will soon be aroused. Still further off, on the opposite bank, stand forms whose shapes one can just make out. In course of time they too may know the situation. The tragedy takes place in the midst of an Eden. Perspective and contrasts are admirable. Tem-

¹ *Lusus Asini*, lib. I.

perament and learning here combine to modify the artist's views of Nature, and he forces her to follow his will.

Nicolas Poussin's work in this line is usually called historic or academic. To be just to its creator, it should be looked at, not by the light of progress made in the last three hundred years, or by modern standards, but rather in relation to the limited study and use of natural scenery in art, before his day. By the number, variety, and special treatment of his landscapes, Nicolas Poussin makes a break with tradition and marks a new departure. Some examples, as "A Pastoral Scene" (engraved by Peyron), and "The Return of the Flock" (engraved by E. Rahl), introduce sheep, goats, cows, and dogs, with their keepers, and look almost like modern pictures of such subjects. Many of the finest specimens of this master's skill are among the treasures of private collections in England.¹ In a picture called "A Tree struck by Lightning" (engraved by N. de Poilly and L. de Chastillon), painted for M. Pointel in 1650, the artist seeks to portray the effect of violent wind. One of the heavy branches of the tree which has been struck, falls upon a cart drawn by oxen, passing along in the road.

¹ The Prado Gallery has nine examples; the Montpellier Museum six. These have not been photographed.

In the wagon sit two women, who are greatly alarmed by the storm. We see the driver lying on the ground, near the half-fallen oxen and almost upset cart. Two men fly before the coming tempest. In a letter to Jacques Stella in 1651, Poussin thus describes one of his landscapes :¹ " I have made for Cavalier Del Pozzo a large painting, in which I have tried to represent a tempest, imitating, as best I could, the effect of violent wind, in air full of obscurity, rain, lightning and thunder, which break out in several places and produce great disturbance." All the characters play their *rôles* in harmony with the general action. Some go through the cloud of dust in the direction of the wind, and are carried along by it. Others, on the contrary, go against the wind and walk with great difficulty, putting hands before their eyes. At the left we notice a shepherd, who runs and leaves his flock on seeing a lion that, after he has thrown to the ground certain cowherds, attacks others, of whom some defend themselves, while the rest goad on their cattle and try to escape. A dog, at a little distance, is barking furiously and his hair stands on end, but he does not venture to come nearer. In the foreground is seen Pyramis, lying on the

¹ Félibien, t. II. p. 440.

ground dead, and by his side Thisbe, who abandons herself to grief (Earl of Ashburnham, Surrey, England). Poussin can also depict morning and evening skies, and sunny weather. Other important landscapes among his works are: "Polyphemus" (Hermitage); "Bearing the Body of Phocion to Burial" (National Gallery, London); "St. John on the Island of Patmos" (Sir Thomas Baring, London); "A Woman Bathing her Feet" (Earl Howe); and "The Four Seasons" (Louvre). Especially noteworthy are "The Four Seasons," known also as "Spring," or "Adam and Eve"; "Summer," or "Ruth and Boaz"; "Autumn," or "The Spies"; "Winter," or "The Deluge," painted for the Duc de Richelieu during the years 1660—1664. Each has a title taken from the Bible, each, except the last-named, was sketched from Roman scenery; the second and third pictures describe harvest and vintage activity in Italy. All four testify to remarkable force on the part of the artist in his old age. "The Deluge" is a very great and an original work. Sombre colouring aids the imagination and heightens the effect. All efforts have become useless on the part of these few survivors, the world goes under, and the serpents, coiled up on the rocks, point to the origin of all this misery.

The author did not feel "cold chills"¹ run down his back on viewing this painting, and it seemed to him an exaggeration to call it "the most beautiful picture which the hand of man has made."² It may safely rank, however, as one of Nicolas Poussin's greatest creations. "The Deluge" is an epic representation, grand and affecting, by reason of the simplicity of treatment and truth in portrayal. The painter's conception is noble, clear, and skilful, but too subjective and too abstract to be safely imitated.

Two allegorical pictures, classed among landscapes with figures, deserve mention here, on account of their reflective character. These, with the frontispieces made in Paris, and the paintings of "Time and Truth," should be included in a short list of allegories. "The Image of Human Life" (Sir Richard Wallace, Hertford House, England) represents life as a dance and happiness as its object. Four women, emblematic of the Four Seasons, join hands in a dance to the music which Father Time calls forth from his lyre. These four figures may also stand for Wealth,

¹ M. de Chambray : "*Quel homme, en voyant ce tableau, ne fremit pas d'horreur, ne se sent pas saisi d'un frisson glacial.*"

² *Manuel du Museum français*, No. 82, and in *St. Gault de Saint-Germain*, p. 11. "*Ce Tableau est le plus beau qui soit sorti de la main des hommes.*"

Poverty, Pleasure and Labour. Distance and inequality between them are shown by their gestures and expressions. A child near the seated winged Time holds an hour-glass; another, by the side of Pleasure, is blowing soap-bubbles. A Hermes, having two heads placed back to back, symbolizes the Past and the Future. On the clouds appears Phœbus in his car, accompanied by Aurora and the Hours. The circle of women in motion recalls Giulio Romano's "Dance of the Muses," in the Pitti Gallery, Florence. This painting was in the Rospigliosi Palace until 1789; probably Poussin made it for Cardinal Julius Rospigliosi. "The Arcadian Shepherds" (Duke of Devonshire, England) differs in its shape and arrangement from the well-known "Arcadia" in the Louvre. This replica is tall and narrow, and the persons in it have been removed from the centre to the extreme right. Two shepherds and a young woman (one less man than in the Louvre picture) stand before a lofty tomb on which lies a skull. In the two works the action of the shepherds is similar; one passes his finger over an inscription on the monument, while the second reads the words "Et in Arcadia ego." This embodies the old thought that nothing can hinder the approach of death. The conception is heightened by the grave, simple beauty of the landscape.

Aside from the paintings already considered, scenes, within the walls of houses or temples, are limited in number. Under this division belong: "Moses Trampling upon Pharaoh's Crown" (Louvre and the Duke of Bedford); "Aaron's Rod Changed into a Serpent"; "The Judgment of Solomon"; "St. James the Major and the Virgin" (these three are in the Louvre); "Esther before Ahasuerus" (Hermitage); "The Annunciation" (Chantilly and Munich Galleries); "St. Françoise" (engraved by G. Audran) and several "Holy Families." Poussin borrowed his composition of "Esther before Ahasuerus" from Domenichino, but employs a different grouping about the almost fainting queen, uses one less attendant, follows, however, in general, his master very closely. A noticeable feature in the older work is the Castle of St. Angelo (see engraving by G. Audran). In the "Judgment of Solomon" interest centres not so much in the young king and judge, as in the expression of character in the two mothers. Gesticulation, on the part of the onlookers, seems in excess. Each baby is perfect; the kicking, struggling infant held by the executioner has warm, pink flesh and lives, while the limp, livid child on the ground is certainly dead. "The Annunciation" introduces the forms of God-Father and four angels, in the sky above the head of the

Virgin, who is on her knees in her room or open porch. She bends forward, in humble attitude, one hand on her breast, to receive Gabriel's message. The light effects are especially fine, and the colours brilliant. Perhaps the artist obtained his inspiration from Garofalo's "Annunciation" in the Capitol at Rome.

Among the artists who were most closely associated with Nicolas Poussin in Rome must, first of all, be mentioned Giovanni and Gaspard Dughet, his wife's brothers. Giovanni (1614—1676) accompanied the master to Paris in 1640, and acted there as his secretary. He helped, as an engraver of his brother-in-law's works, to make them better known. Poussin loved him as a son, and his letters indicate that Giovanni shared his home.¹ Gaspard Dughet's (1613—1675) name does not occur in the painter's will. Biographers mention no dissension between the two, but some passages in letters afford a light upon the relation of master and pupil, and show that Poussin felt very differently towardst his brother. He writes, April 1, 1663, to M. de Chantelou:² "It vexes me to hear that you have taken the trouble to seek the favour of Minister Colbert, in order to satisfy the demands of my foolish brother-in-law,

¹ See Appendix, VII., for Giovanni Dughet's letter to M. de Chantelou.

² MS. 12347, p. 251.

who imagined, by placing the King's arms above his door, that this would be a protection from danger, in case of disorder in Rome. He never told me a word about this fine project. It is his wont to act thus rashly in all matters and without advice. Only a little while ago, he confessed to me that he had written about the subject of a safeguard, as if the pass were for himself, while in reality he wanted it for a friend. I do not know how this affair reached you, but I am entirely innocent. I beg you to pardon the ignorance of this poor boy. Fear which he and many others have of French arms is such that they imagine soldiers are near at hand. No doubt one will find some day many dead without wounds." Gaspard Duguet took the name of his teacher and adopted his methods; he left behind landscapes which, in some collections, have been catalogued under the works of Nicolas Poussin. At an early age he opened a studio in Rome, and had also houses or studios at Frascati and Tivoli. He found subjects for his pictures in different parts of Italy, and offers great variety in them—mountains, lakes, cascades, lofty trees in wide plains, ruined temples, etc. He worked rapidly, skilfully, and with a love for natural scenery. He had also a passion for the chase.¹ As a landscapist, Gaspard

¹ P. J. Mariette, *Abcedario*, v. 8.

Dughet did not content himself with making drawings or studies after nature, but painted a good share of his pictures out-of-doors. A little ass, that he cared for himself, his only servant, bore his entire apparatus, provisions, and a tent, under which, protected from the sun and wind, he made his landscapes. In this manner of living and working, he often passed several days at a time in the environs of Rome. Gaspard is said to have studied under Claude Lorrain. The arrangement and sunlight effects in his pictures may occasionally remind one of Claude, but he is no more to be confounded with him than with Nicolas Poussin. Gaspard had a ready brush, decided talent, a keen eye for beauties in nature, but he lacked genius. He is fresher at times, uses colour better than his master ; his art seems less epic, less reflective, and comes closer to nature. Félibien says,¹ Gaspard Dughet's landscapes deserved to be called remnants from Poussin's banquet. This is one-sided and unjust criticism. However, it is no doubt true, that the sight of a number of Gaspard's pretty landscapes, when taken together, wearies the beholder as Poussin's pictures never can ; they wear a conventional seventeenth-century air and look. Many galleries possess examples of Gaspard's skill :

¹ Félibien, t. IV. p. 164.

perhaps those best supplied are the Doria, Rome ; Prado, Madrid ; Hermitage, St. Petersburg ; and National Gallery, London. Many of his works are in private collections in England. Gaspard tried also fresco (examples in the Colonna Palace, Rome) and etching. He too, as well as his brother, served at times as the painter's secretary. Besides a portion of the copy of Da Vinci's *Treatise on Painting* which he made, letters exist among the autographs, MS. 12347, in the National Library at Paris, which begin in Gaspard's hand in Italian, go on in French written by Poussin, end in Italian, and are signed Nicolo Poussin.

After the Dughet family, the master's most intimate friend was Jacques Stella (1596—1657), son of a painter in Lyons. He came to Rome a year earlier than Poussin and remained there eleven years. Then he returned to France, where he held the office of court-painter. Bouchitté says (p. 358), that Jacques Stella profited most by association with the master, and copied him so faithfully that one might confound the two. Stella's two pictures in the Louvre, "Christ receiving the Virgin into Heaven" and "St. Cecilia at the Organ," have nothing in common with Poussin ; in other examples, such as "Christ and the Samaritan Woman" (Montpellier), and "The Judgment of Paris" (M. Dumont, Cambrai),

he seems an imitator of his friend, in landscape backgrounds and classical forms. He comes nearest the great painter in two suites of compositions, namely : "The Passion" (fourteen plates, engraved by Claudia Stella) and "The Life of the Virgin" (twenty-two plates engraved by Polanzani). "The Passion" prints bear the name of Poussin as the painter, but these compositions are now given to Jacques Stella.¹ Stella learned to etch in Florence under Jacques Callot, and left some good pieces, as "Pastoral Scenes" and "Children at Play."² His three nieces, Claudia, Françoise, and Antoinette Bouzonnet, and their brother Antoine engraved his works and made them popular. Stella educated his nieces and nephew and left them his property, and they adopted his name. After Jacques Stella's death, Antoine Bouzonnet went to Rome to continue his studies. Poussin receiving him most kindly, for his uncle's sake, gave him free entrance to his home at all hours (a favour rarely granted), and urged him to lodge near by in order more easily to secure his aid and counsel. A clause of

¹ Baron de Trigusti, *Catalogue de l'École des Beaux-Arts*. Paris.

² P. J. Mariette, p. 203, v. 8, and Guillet de Saint-George, *Mémoire historique des principaux ouvrages d'Antoine Bouzonnet*.

Stella's will permitted this nephew to stay five years in Rome, provided he made good use of his time. Nicolas Poussin painted for Jacques Stella a number of pictures; among these are the following, now widely scattered: "Rinaldo and Armida" (Hermitage); "Venus bringing Arms to Aeneas" (Rouen); "The Exposition of Moses" (Earl Temple); "Pan and Syrinx" (Dresden); "Apollo and Daphne" (Lord Northwick); "Moses Smiting the Rock" (Hermitage). On sending the first-named work to his friend, Poussin added this comment:¹ "I have taken great pains to do it well, have painted, as you will see, after a manner suited to the theme, which is in itself tender (*molt*), and very different from the style of the historical picture for M. Vrillière" ("The Faeliscian School-master"). Poussin talks to his friend as one artist to another. "Moses Smiting the Rock," sent to Paris in 1649, met with harsh criticism, which the painter thus answers:¹ "I am glad not only to hear that you like my work, but also to hear what people say about it. There ought to be no difficulty in regard to the depth of the stream where the water runs. You understand that I do not paint at haphazard, but that I am, to some degree, sufficiently well instructed as regards the things permissible for an artist to

¹ *Félibien*, t. II. p. 356.

depict, as they have been, still are, and will be in the future. In respect to the place where the miracle occurs, it must be represented somewhat as I have made it, because otherwise the water could not be collected or brought away to meet the necessity of such a multitude of people. It would have spread in all directions. Supposing, at the time of the Creation, that the earth had received an uniform shape, and the waters had not found their beds and depths, then the surface would have been quite covered, and, in consequence, quite useless for animals. But, from the beginning, God disposed all things in order and with relation to the end for which He perfected His work. So in the great events connected with the striking of the rock by Moses, one may believe that marvellous things could happen, such as would not be easy for every one to judge correctly. It would be better were people less hasty in expressing their criticisms and in passing judgments!"

Jean and Françoise Lemaire may be considered among Nicolas Poussin's pupils and friends. Jean, born in 1597, became a painter of history and architecture. He was sent by the Marquis de Chanvalon, when a young man, to Rome, where he spent some twenty years,¹ returning to France

¹ Ph. de Chennevières, p. 209.

in 1633, under appointment as Court painter. In 1640 he joined M. de Chantelou in the successful effort to bring Poussin to Paris. When the painter and Charles Lebrun went to Rome, two years later, Lemaire accompanied them, but remained there only a short time. It was to him that Poussin wished to commit the continuation of his work in the Grande Galerie du Louvre. This would have been a good arrangement if it had been permitted. Lemaire's pictures of classic ruins, as, for instance, his perspectives at Ruel and Bagnolet, were celebrated in his day, and received praise for their science, good colour, and force. On his return from a second visit to Italy, he lived in the Louvre, where, according to Félibien, he lost part of his goods by a fire. After this event he went to Gaillon, in Normandy, where he died in 1659. He never married, and left his property to poor people and friends. The second artist of this name, known as "le petit Lemaire," often mentioned in the letters, excelled as a copyist and portraitist. It is not possible to give here an account of each one of the Italian and French artists who, working under Poussin's immediate direction during the years 1643—1647, were in the employ of M. de Chantelou: Pierre Mignard, Nicolas Chapron, Pierre Errard, Claude le Rieux, R. le Vieux, Chieco the Neapolitan,

and others. Some proved themselves capricious, lazy, and easily discontented. Poussin complains in his letter of August 25, 1643,¹ that Chapron has deliberately abandoned his work, is impudent, and his lies too dreadful to be reported. Nocret, Mignard, and Le Rieux fail in their duty, they have mutually agreed to be paid in their own way, and will not finish the second copies already begun. "I do not know what hopes you gave them, but they showed their teeth like enraged dogs and abused you at their best. I have been forced to agree with them as well as I can." Among those who came under Poussin's influence may be included Charles Errard (1606—1689), an historical painter, one of the foundation members of the French Academy (1648), and its Rector in 1655. He learned to know Poussin when sent to Italy to purchase works of art for the State. Errard became the first director of the Academy de France at Rome, established in 1666.

Claude Lorrain (1600—1682) and Nicolas Poussin lived near each other for years in Rome, as neighbours and friends. They saw the same ruins, the Campagna, the Tiber and other places, but with very different eyes. Temperament, education, habits of thought and observation, led to results most unlike in the art of the two men. Claude

¹ MS. 12347, p. 90.

loved the light and put the sun into his pictures ; he had no aversion to colour. Both held architecture as important, both produced ideal paintings of scenes that, for the most part, cannot be identified with particular places. The titles, especially in Claude's case, bear little relation to definite regions, as for example, "The Embarkation of St. Ursula" and "The Embarkation of the Queen of Sheba" (National Gallery, London). Claude came under the spell of the older artist, he makes use of a somewhat similarly arranged composition, but his style is less austere, his fancy freer and richer. Giambattista Passeri (1610—1679) belonged to the artist colony of his day in Rome. He has ceased to be remembered as a painter, but his book, published a century after his death (suppressed on account of his views), contains short accounts of contemporaries and is interesting reading.¹

The qualities that distinguish Nicolas Poussin's paintings have been admirably translated, with great exactness, by certain engravers, some of whom worked under the direction of the master himself. After examination of the best engravings of Poussin's creations, one may form a just, complete and definite idea of his talent. The beauty

¹ Giambattista Passeri, *Vite de Pittori, Scultori, ed Architetti*. Rome, 1777.

of his art lives more in the arrangement and style, in the grand lines, expressions, gestures, and physiognomies, than in execution and colour. The history of engraving in France begins with Jacques Callot (1592—1665). Callot treated his subjects in an original manner, and holds a unique place among artists. His small etchings of such topics as Gypsies, Beggars, Caprices, the Miseries of War, etc., are realistic pictures. Bohemian and national life, customs at home and abroad attracted him, as can be seen in his sixteen hundred prints. This etcher-painter was evidently weary of the well-worn religious subjects of his day ; he sought and found new fields, and abandoned the burin for the needle, as an instrument better adapted to seize and fix fleeting impressions of life. His touch is sure and masterly, his style picturesque, the stroke rapid, the appearance like a sketch. He is no satirist, no humorist, but an interested, philosophical observer. Callot left no school behind, although many tried to imitate his manner. Engraving reached its Golden Age in France during the seventeenth century. The prints of this period are magnificent specimens of skill with the point and burin, fresh in tone, and often with great charm of colour. No one has known better than Jean Pesne (1623—1700) how to interpret in engraving the best qualities of Nicolas Poussin's

paintings. He engraved the "Seven Sacraments" (second series); the "Testament of Eudamidas"; the "Labours of Hercules"; the Portraits of Poussin, as well as other works of this master. No details are known concerning Jean Pesne's life, but he enjoyed Poussin's counsels and worked under his direction. Jean Pesne left one hundred and sixteen prints, of which forty-seven handle subjects treated by Poussin. His merit is in the excellent draughtsmanship, extreme painstaking in technique, and insight in the rendering of expression. His work satisfies the most critical judges. The name Audran was borne by a number of artists, who were, for the most part, engravers in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Gerard Audran (1640—1703) was the most celebrated engraver of this family and one of the lights of Louis XIV.'s reign. His engraved portrait of Clement X. first drew attention to him, and led to his recall from Rome to Paris, and to the appointment of engraver to the King. Gerard edited his own works, and, with his brother Benoit, and his nephews Jean and Benoit II., founded a school of engraving in Paris. Gerard Audran's work is of a high order, marked by noble design, dignified style, and a large, free and varied manner. He too was an intelligent interpreter of Poussin. This can be seen in his engravings of "John

baptizing in the Jordan," "Time rescues Truth," "The Woman taken in Adultery," as well as in other examples. Claudia Stella (1636—1697), niece of Jacques Stella, deserves honourable mention among Poussin's engravers. Watelet says : "No man has seized as Claudia Stella the true soul of Nicolas Poussin's art." She succeeded especially well in indicating colour. This is shown in the "Finding of Moses"; "Moses smites the Rock"; several "Holy Families"; "The Crucifixion"; and "SS. Peter and John healing the Lame Man." Among the Italian engravers who have reproduced Poussin's pictures, should be mentioned Pierre del Po and Giovanni Dughet. The former is very maladroit at times in execution; the prints of the latter are rare. Giovanni Dughet's engravings have a personal value as good interpretations, but show also lack of skill in technique. In general, it will be found true that the Italian engravers of this period fall below the French as skilled workmen.

Quite naturally, as years passed, Nicolas Poussin became the head of the little world of artists in Rome, and his words and productions were received as important and as models by the younger men.¹ His modesty and good sense conciliated,

¹ J. Dumesnil, *Histoire des plus célèbres amateurs Italiens*, etc. Paris, 1855, p. 451.

his character and manner won respect and silenced even the criticisms of his rivals. A strong will, and regular, simple habits of life helped him to resist illness and the infirmities of advancing years. Even when physical energy decreased, his mind remained unimpaired. This he expresses,¹ in a letter dated March 15, 1658: "If my hand would obey, I could, I think, guide it better than ever, but too often I have occasion to repeat Themistocles' words, who said at the end of his life : 'Man declines and leaves the world just as he begins to do well.' I do not on this account lose courage, so long as the head remains sound, although the body grow feeble, it is the master's privilege and right to give commands to the servant."

¹ MS. 12347, p. 240.

CHAPTER VI

WORKS OF THE LAST YEARS

The "Termes de Fouquet" and Poussin's Relief-Style—Last Paintings—Illness and Death—The Three Wills—Monuments—Character of the Man—Writings upon Art—Criticism of Lorenzo Bernini—The Art of Nicolas Poussin.

IN 1655 a commission of an unusual nature came to Nicolas Poussin, known as the "Termes de Fouquet" (in the Versailles Gardens). Different sculptors executed these Termes, or Hermes, after the artist's designs (engraved by S. Thomassin). Poussin has represented thirteen different genii of fruits, flowers, etc., under the form of men and women, each having a human head and bust, but ending in a terminal sheath. Pan appears, wearing a wreath on his head, holding a branch in one hand and a flute in the other. A smiling Faun is garlanded with ivy. Pallas wears a helmet adorned with olive leaves, and carries a branch encircled by a serpent. Ceres and Bacchus can easily be identified by ears of corn and bunches of grapes.

So also can each of the others—the Flora, Hercules, Morpheus, Pomona, Abundance, a Bacchante, a Reaper, and a second Flora—be recognized by attributes. Under this commission belong designs for two great vases of African marble. The artist refers to this order in his letter of December 20, 1655: ¹ “ You know better than any one else that I have touched nothing of this kind of work for fourteen years, not since I made the cartoons for the Grande Galerie.” Six days later he wrote again to M. de Chantelou: ² “ I have heard from M. Fouquet, and hope all will go well. A good beginning promises a good end. His brother, Abbé Louis Fouquet, has been here, and will take back to Paris a skilled workman whose friend and patron I am sure you will be. As the Superintendent is in the midst of great occupations, I have need of your aid to remind him of my little affair.” These works, just mentioned, are important as being this master’s only attempts in sculpture. Poussin held the theory that painting and sculpture are both imitative arts, the base of each being design. Illusion of appearance gives to painting a more highly artistic form than is possible in sculpture, their chief difference, however, consists in the materials employed.³ From the time of

¹ MS. 12347, p. 234.

² *Ibid.* p. 236.

³ Bellori, p. 285.

his first residence in Rome, the painter had employed wax models for groups in pictures. After he had conceived a subject, he made a sketch of such a nature as to afford him an idea of the whole composition. Then he shaped wax models, about half-a-hand high, of all the figures, and arranged them so as to show the theme in relief, in order that he might see light and shade effects on their bodies. Afterwards, he made other larger models of his figures and clothed them, that he might notice the disposition and fall of the folds over the nude. To this end, he used fine linen or wet muslin to secure shading and values. He formed the drapery on his mannikins with a pointed stick, then, taking soft wax, gave them feet, hands, and heads, or made, out of other pieces, angels, buildings, and ornaments, all most skilfully and with great tranquillity. In this description of his methods is to be found an explanation of the sculpturesque appearance of many of Nicolas Poussin's works. The *Hermes of Versailles* are the sequels of cameo-like cartoons of "The Labours of Hercules," designed to resemble reliefs in stucco.

At sixty-five years of age the painter's hand had not lost its cunning. He thus describes, November 29, 1658, a picture made for Madame Montmort, whom Paul de Chantelou, late in life,

had married :¹ " One sees a kind of procession of Egyptian priests, whose heads are shaven and crowned with leaves ; they wear the dress of the land. Some carry cymbals, flutes and trumpets, others bear sticks adorned with carved hawks'-heads. Some stand under a portico, others take their way to the Temple of Serapis. These last bring hither a casket, holding the god's bones. Behind a priestess, clothed in yellow, is seen a kind of building, made for the bird ibis, represented on its walls. In this picture is a tower whose top is concave, and there is also a vase to receive dew. This scene is not a caprice of the imagination. All has been taken from that famous Temple of Fortuna at Palestrina, whose pavement, composed of beautiful mosaics, depicts in a true and good manner the history of Egypt and Ethiopia.² I have put all these things into my picture," he explains, " in order by their novelty and variety to please you, and also to show that the Virgin is really in Egypt" (Dulwich Gallery). One more painting should be mentioned among Poussin's last works. He says, June 27, 1655 :³ " I beg Madame Montmort

¹ MS. 12347, p. 242.

² The Nile Mosaic, with the exception of a fragment now in the Berlin Museum, is in Palestrina. Size six by five metres.

³ MS. 12347, p. 280.

not to trouble herself to write ; above all, not to send me money in advance. She must have patience. I have to finish four pictures " (probably the " Four Seasons ") " before I can put my hand to her commissions ; nevertheless, I am meditating upon the two subjects which she has proposed." One of these was the already mentioned " Virgin in Egypt," the other " Christ and the Woman of Samaria " (engraved by Jean Pesne). Mr. Richard Schöne in Berlin has in his collection a painting which bears the title " Christ and the Samaritan Woman," and is ascribed to Nicolas Poussin. This differs from the engraving of the same subject. The two chief persons by the well are much larger, brought nearer the centre, and more completely fill the fore-ground in the engraving, while the landscape is less important and looks unfinished. At the right is seen a veiled woman seated on the ground. The returning disciples appear in the middle plane, directly behind Christ, not at the left, and at a little distance, as in the Berlin example. Poussin reports, April 2, 1662 :¹ " I could have sent the picture for which you have so long waited, but a vexatious cold has hindered me. I need another day for the head of the Christ-figure, all the rest is done."

¹ MS. 12347, p. 247.

After the year 1658 the painter's health began to fail. In his letter to M. de Chantelou, August 2, 1660, he says:¹ "I do not pass a day without pain, and the trembling of my limbs increases as I grow older. Excess of heat during this season has left me a wreck. I have been forced to abandon work and to put aside colours and brushes. If I live until autumn I hope to take them up again, for you especially who have so long shown me kindness and good favour. I ought to write to Madame, but the trembling of my hand prevents. Pray make to her my excuses." Intervals grew longer and longer between the letters of these old friends. There came a pause of more than a year and a half, and then the following communication, dated November 11, 1664, the last but one to his cherished patron:² "I beg you not to be surprised that so long a time has passed since I gave you any news. When you know the reason of my silence, you will not only excuse, but also feel sympathy for my misery. After having nursed my wife for nine months, while she was ill in bed and wasted to the bones with a cough and consumptive fever, I have lost her. Her death leaves me alone, at a time when I have the greatest need of her help."³

¹ MS. 12347, p. 244.

² *Ibid.* p. 247.

³ See Appendix, V.

I am old, paralytic, full of all kinds of weaknesses, a stranger and without friends, in this city where one finds none. It is easy to preach patience, the remedy for all ills. I take it as a medicine that costs little, but cannot heal. Finding myself in this condition, which cannot last long, I wish to make arrangements for my departure. I have made a little will, leaving more than ten thousand crowns to my poor relatives in Les Andelys. They are ignorant people, who will need help from some honest person. I beg you to counsel them and to take them under your protection. I am sure, after the experience that I have had of your goodness, you will gladly do for them what you, during twenty-five years, have done for your poor Poussin. I have great difficulty in writing. It takes me a week to finish a poor letter, little by little, two or three lines at a time ; my weakness is such that it is impossible for me to pen anything which one can read. In what manner can I serve you in this city ? Command him who is, with all his heart, your humble Poussin." The artist's last words to his friend were written March 28, 1665 :¹ "The joy that I felt on receiving your letter from Château du Loir cannot be expressed, but my content was of short duration. It has been destroyed by the arrival of an unfortunate

¹ MS. 12347, p. 257.

blunderer of a nephew, one of those relatives in Les Andelys for whom I asked your aid, after my death, which you have been good enough to promise. This rustic person, ignorant and without brains, has come to trouble my peace, so that I have not been able to thank you sooner. You are my refuge, my support, as long as I live."

Nicolas Poussin died Thursday noon, November 19, 1665.¹ He was buried the next day in his parish church, San Lorenzo, in Lucina, Rome. A correspondent of the Abbé Nicaise, Canon of Sainte-Chapelle at Dijon (supposed to be P. Quesnil), wrote from Rome, November 24, 1665, as follows: ² "I have nothing to send you except the news of the death of the Apelles of our century, the illustrious Nicolas Poussin. He was buried Friday at San Laurent in Lucina, where all the amateurs, painters, architects and sculptors assisted. I found myself among the number. There were two prelates, Monsignore Salviati and another. Some one gave me a candle, likewise one to each of the others. Poussin was ill more than six weeks and always in agony. By the next 'ordinaire,' I shall send you an epitaph which has been made to his memory"

¹ See Appendix, V., VI., Mortuary Act.

² *Correspondance de l'Abbé Nicaise*, t. IV. lettre 25. Biblioth. Nation. suppl. franc., No. 1958.

(Bellori's). The following account concerning the universal sympathy for the old man in his last days is interesting :¹ " All Rome and the artists here from every land watch with respectful pity this lingering suffering, this sad but inevitable wasting away of a great painter, who, although a foreigner, has for a long time been a glory to this land. They pity the poor body whose hand has, little by little, refused to work as his genius directed. He seemed to grow ever greater, and kept, even to the last, one of the most powerful minds the world has known." Salvator Rosa, the great painter's neighbour on Mt. Pincio, wrote, October 31, 1665, to a friend, Giovanni Battista Ricciardi: " People here esteem M. Poussin as belonging to another world than this."

The will of which the painter speaks in his letter of November 16, 1664, was not his last one. The latter was drawn up by J. B. Rondini, and bears the date September 21, 1665. It mentions a former testament, made November 25, 1664, and thereby annulled. It is probable that a few days before this pathetic letter to M. de Chantelou, in which he announced his wife's death, Poussin commenced writing his last testament, but his infirmities soon obliged him to employ the services of a notary. The arrival of his grand-nephew in

¹ Ph. de Chennevières, p. 291.

the spring of 1665 was unexpected.¹ He came from Normandy, led, it would appear, by a desire to secure his uncle's property, and conducted himself in such an indiscreet and impudent manner, that Poussin sent him back in September of that same year. If Matthias Letellier was this "blunderer of a nephew," then we have the explanation of a new will drawn up after his departure from Rome, by which a younger brother, Jean, became the heir.² A third and still earlier will exists, made in April 1642, now preserved in the Archivio Urbano at Rome.³ In this testament, Poussin left all his property, after making a few bequests, to his wife. The Andelys relatives are not mentioned. Carlo Del Pozzo was named testamentary executor. Anna Maria's death annulled this will.⁴ A summary of the painter's testament, made September 21, 1665, may be given in a paragraph. Nicolas Poussin commended his soul to the Holy Virgin, SS. Peter and Paul, to his guardian angel, and the Heavenly Hosts. He left to Louis Dughet (his wife's brother) 800 Roman écus; to Jeanne

¹ Passeri, p. 358.

² Ch. Legay, *Bulletin de la Soc. de l'Histoire de Normandie* Rouen, 1875-1880, p. 150.

³ Mrs. Mark Pattison, *l'Art*, 1882, II. p. 122.

⁴ Copies of the wills of November 25, 1664, and September 21, 1665, are in the National Library, Paris.

Dughet (his wife's sister), married to Bastien Cherabito, 1000 écus ; to Barbe Cherabito, daughter of Jeanne, his house, furniture and all household effects, with 20 écus ; to Catherine Cherabito (Barbe's sister), 1000 écus ; to Leonardo Cherabito 300 écus ; to François Cherabito 200 écus (Leonardo and François were Jeanne's sons) ; to Giovanni Dughet 1300 écus and remittance of money obligations ; to Giovanni Retrou, banker, 50 écus ; to Françoise Letellier, widow of Antoine Posterla or to her children, if she be deceased, 1000 écus French money. He named Jean Letellier, son of Nicolas Letellier and Marie Honorat (Honoré), his universal legatee, and substituted, in case of his death, the children of Françoise Letellier.

Nicolas Poussin formed, during his residence in Rome, a small collection of art works. In 1678, Giovanni Dughet made an inventory and catalogue of these engravings, busts, statues, etc., left behind by his master, answered the questions of interested persons, and finally disposed of this property.¹ He valued the collection at 3000 doppie (a doppie is about twenty francs). Giovanni Dughet possessed Nicolas Poussin's entire confidence, knew all his master's friends

¹ See Appendix, VIII., for Catalogue. *Archives de l'art Français*. Documents, t. I. Paris, 1851-52, p. 10, and VI. p. 251.

and patrons, cared for his interests during life, reported his death to M. de Chantelou and others, and took charge of his effects. From the Abbé Nicaise's correspondence, we learn that Giovanni Dughet offered to sell this collection to the Canon. The Abbé's agent in Rome wrote to him January 10, 1679: "I have seen the busts and drawings of the late M. Poussin. There are some beautiful things, useful to artists, in this collection. I shall see the engravings, some 1300 in number, at another time. All are by celebrated masters. Fr. Chappuys."

In 1728 Seroux d'Agincourt placed in the Pantheon a bust of Nicolas Poussin, modelled after a copy of the Louvre portrait. He found nothing more appropriate and noble to inscribe upon it than the simple words—"Nicolas Poussin, Pictori Gallo." (This bust is now in the Museum of the Capitol, Rome.) A medal, designed by M. Dumarest, was struck in 1796, for the use of the French schools of painting and sculpture. On one side of it is represented, in profile, Poussin's head with a star above it. Around the outer edge of this medal are engraved the words—"Nicolas Poussin, French Painter." On the reverse, in a wreath in the centre, appear a palette, brush, crayon, compass and rule; on the margin is the legend—"French School, First

Prize in Painting." The compass and rule were added, in order that this medal might be used as a prize in sculpture. In the church of San Lorenzo in Lucina at Rome is a little monument to the artist. It takes the form of a bust, is of white marble, and signed "P. Lemoyne 1829." Underneath the arch in which it has been placed are brought these words—"F. A. Chateaubriand à Nicolas Poussin pour la Gloire des Arts et l'Honneur de la France. Nicolas Poussin nè aux Andelys en MDLXXXIV mort à Rome en MDCLXV et inhumè en cette église." Beneath this is a relief of white marble, representing "Arcadia." At the base, on a tablet, comes Bellori's inscription—"Parce piis lacrimis ; vivit Pussinus in urna, vivere qui dederat, nescius ipse mori : Hic tamen ipse silet ; si vis audire loquentum, mirum est, in tabulis vivit et eloquitura." This monument is signed by Leon Vaudoyer, Arch. MDCCCXXX. Jean Pierre Bellori's testimony in this memorial is deserving of notice. As Poussin's friend and first biographer his account is considered very important. He is exact in respect to all facts of history, with the exception of the year given for the artist's birth, but his criticism of Poussin's paintings has little value.¹

¹ Bellori was a learned man in his day, and his publications about Roman antiquities preceded Winckelmann's researches.

The Institute of France has a marble statue of the painter, the work of A. Dumont, executed in 1836, and placed in the hall devoted to the Academy of Sciences. On the base of this statue are the dates 1593—1665. A much stronger, and the most satisfactory representation of the master is the bronze monument, by Louis Brian, at Grand Andely. This statue was uncovered June 15, 1851, with appropriate ceremonies, in the presence of a multitude of persons, including artists from Paris, members of the Institute, departmental authorities, a regiment of soldiers, the Bishop of Evreux, and others. The painter is represented as seated and in the act of sketching a landscape. Brian has studied the portraits and character of the man, and has produced a very excellent work. All is simple and in good taste; the pedestal is entirely free from reliefs or inscriptions. One might criticize the attitude of the figure; seen from the right, the movement appears unnatural and almost ugly, but the face pleases, and the sculptor has secured, on the whole, an ideal yet truthful presentation quite in harmony with the man's character and suited to the place of his birth. At the entrance to the École des Beaux-Arts in Paris,

He held the position of antiquary and librarian to Queen Christine of Sweden, and received from Pope Clement X. the title of antiquarian of Rome.

hangs on one side of the door a medallion-portrait of Nicolas Poussin, a pendant to that of Pierre Puget on the opposite side. Rouen Museum has a marble statue of Nicolas Poussin, by E. Hiolte. In the Museum at Grand Andely is a clay model for a statue, by M. Julien, but it has little merit as a likeness of the painter. Poussin's features have also been reproduced by David d'Angers in a profile medallion, and they appear in Paul Delaroche's great painting, called "The Hemy-cycle," in the hall of the École des Beaux-Arts, and in Ingres' "Apotheosis of Homer" at the Louvre.

No scandals, no great vicissitudes, no startling events are recorded in the history of the life of Nicolas Poussin. Poverty and constant struggles for recognition belong to the period before his marriage in 1630. Ill-health followed him from youth, beginning with the exposures and privations resulting from his years of wandering. On this account he was found unfit for military service.¹ Only a regular life, a strong will, and the care of a devoted wife, made it possible for him to produce such a great number of works. We chronicle no long absences from home and wife, as in the history of Hans Holbein. The visit of less than two years to France seems like a mere episode in

¹ L. Poillon, *Étude Biographique*. Paris, 1868.

the quiet routine of his long residence in Rome. Anna Maria was no virago, and she never reproached her husband for extravagance. Poussin was never accused of parsimony or avarice ; he formed a valuable collection, but his tastes in this direction involved no loss or harm to others, as was true of Rembrandt. In his dealings with patrons, as existing letters and bills make clear, he was exact, scrupulous, and most honourable. His prices could not be changed, neither increased nor lowered, but remained, once made, as was true of Rubens' prices, fixed like the laws of the Medes and Persians. He employed no assistants, and his pictures show no trace of help from others. Long stay in Italy did not denationalize him ; to the end he remained a good Frenchman. Italians, as well as Frenchmen, honoured the man and artist, perhaps the former esteemed him more justly. About the time of Nicolas Poussin's death a cult began of this artist, so extravagant in its nature, that the jarring voice of censure could not be heard amid the excessive praises offered at his shrine. Now-a-days it seems easier to find flaws in the art-works of this great master than in his character. As a human being he must have had faults. He loved deeply and kept his friends. These attachments to patrons who were also his cherished friends and sincere admirers, form a

most interesting part of the story. But Nicolas Poussin was not a meek man. He had no patience with incompetent or lazy people. He saw through shams, and used very apt words to characterize them. He could perhaps forgive, but not forget an injury. This was noticed in the account of the scourging picture "Hercules striking down Folly, Ignorance and Envy." Two of the three brothers-in-law, and their sister with her four children, received bequests from the painter, but Gaspard Dughet, who had offended him, was cut off without a penny. Matthias Letellier, the elder of the two grand-nephews in Les Andelys, lost everything owing to his want of tact while visiting his uncle. His brother Jean was made the heir, and a cousin Françoise Letellier and her children were also remembered. Nicolas Poussin held tenaciously to what he considered his rights. This appears in the correspondence between the painter and M. de Chantelou about the disposal of the house in the Tuileries Gardens, when Poussin exhibited something of the dog-in-a-manger spirit. He liked solitude, yet was accessible to others, and gladly helped younger men if they showed themselves in earnest. His letters contain many petitions to friends and patrons, asking help for other artists less well-known and less fortunate than himself. A good anecdote is told by Félibien (tome IV.

p. 77), illustrating the artist's contentment with his simple manner of living. One evening Cardinal Massimi came to see Poussin, and remained until late into the night, forgetful of time in the pleasure of conversation. At last he was compelled to leave, and his host lighted the way to the door, when the great man said: "I am sorry for you that you have no valet to render such a service." To which Poussin quickly answered: "I am more sorry for you who have so many." In his last years, when ill and weak, the painter grew very melancholy. After his wife's death he writes like one forsaken, as a stranger in a strange land. Perchance as years increased he may have become more dogmatic and dictatorial in the expression of his opinions. After the death of a dear friend, his virtues shine forth, petty features of character retire far into the shade, and, as time goes on, become obliterated. Thus, in the history of Nicolas Poussin, we would emphasize his industrious, simple, and contented manner of life, as well as his pure, loving, and upright relations as husband and friend. The man is greater than the artist; he commands our respect and admiration.

André Félibien, whose "Conversations" about artists have already been quoted, wrote to Nicolas Poussin at the close of the year 1664, and received

soon after the following answer:¹ "We have those among us who write about the works of modern painters and their lives. Their style is high-flown, without salt, and without doctrine. They treat of painting as those might do who have neither theory nor practice. Several have ventured to put their hands to such efforts, but have been recompensed with mockery as they deserved." In these words Poussin could not have referred to either Bellori or Passeri; it is quite likely that he had in mind such a book as *La Peinture Parlante*, whose author, Hilaire Pader, had introduced Nicolas Poussin's name into his verses. In his reply to a letter from the Toulouse painter, Poussin says,² "You do not need to trouble yourself to send me the other portions of your poem; one can judge the lion by his claws. I have not yet seen the piece you sent, I am keeping it for some one who will know how to appreciate its beauty. It should not be wasted on a mediocre painter; that would be like casting pearls before swine. I am sorry not to send you something of mine, since you desire it. No one has, as yet, engraved my work. Let me hear how I can serve you."

Some time after the painter's death, M. de

¹ Félibien, t. IV. p. 371.

² *La Peinture Parlante, dédiée aux Peintres de l'Académie Royal.* Paris, 1657, p. 63.

Chantelou wrote to Giovanni Dughet, inquiring if his friend had not composed some work on painting, and in particular asking whether Poussin had not written upon the subject of light and shade. Giovanni replied, January 23, 1666:¹ "You tell me that M. Cerisiers says he has seen a book about light and shade, colours and proportions, by M. Poussin. There is not a word of truth in it. I have had in my hands certain manuscripts treating of such subjects, but they were not written by him. They were passages taken from an original work in Cardinal Barberini's library, which I copied by Poussin's order. The author is Matteo, the teacher of Domenichino in perspective. Some years ago, before we went to Paris, my brother-in-law had me copy a good part of this work, as also some of Vitellius' rules. This has led many persons to suppose that M. Poussin was an author. There is no shadow of doubt of the truth of what I say. You will oblige me by letting your brother, M. de Chambray, know that if he should desire to see the book in question, I will send it by a messenger, on condition that he return it after reading. All the French artists believe that M. Poussin left writings on painting. It is true, as I heard him say several times, that he proposed composing a treatise on this subject, but, although

¹ Quatremère de Quincy, p. 357.

I often urged him to do so, he deferred it, until death put an end to all such projects.” What did Nicolas Poussin write about art? To M. de Chambray, who sent the master his book, entitled, *L’Idée de la perfection de la peinture*, Poussin writes, March 7, 1665 :¹ “I rejoice that you are the first Frenchman to open the eyes of those who do not see aright, but hold a false, yet common, view. You come to soften and warm a rigid subject, and do it in such a way that I trust some persons will take you for a guide, and give us, later, publications of value. After considering the divisions made in respect to the fine arts, by Francis Junius,² I venture to briefly put together what I have learned about them. First of all, we must know what imitation is and define it. Definition—Imitation is the making of lines and the use of colour on a plane surface in representations of all objects which exist under the sun. The end is delectation. Principles, which all men having reason can comprehend—There can be no picture of merit brought forth on canvas without a knowledge of light, atmosphere, form, colour, and perspective. Such learning belongs to the foundations or essentials of painting. First of all, then, it is necessary that the subject be in itself noble, and that it

¹ MS. 12347, p. 255.

² *De Pictura Veterum*. Rotterdam, 1624.

give scope for revealing the painter's mind and industry. It should be capable of receiving a good form."¹ Nicolas Poussin's views on art and philosophy can only be presented in a few sentences, taken, for the most part, from his letters. He says: "I never feel myself so stimulated to be painstaking as after I have seen a beautiful object." "There are two ways of seeing things. One is simply looking at them, the other means considering them attentively. Only to see is nothing else but receiving into the eye the form or likeness of the object looked at, but to consider a thing is more than this; that is, to seek with special diligence after the means of knowing this object thoroughly." "They do not realize that it is contrary to order and nature to place very large and massive things in high places" (he refers to the vault of the Grande Galerie), "or to make very delicate or weak bodies carry heavy weights." "To judge well is very difficult. To do so requires both theory and practice. Reason, not appetite, should control the judgment." "I submit to you some important considerations which will show what is necessary to observe in the representations treated by an artist. Our brave ancient Greeks,

¹ Other observations on art, etc., will be found in Appendix, IX. They were gathered by Bellori from the artist's conversations and letters.

inventors of all beautiful things, have discovered several modes, through which are produced marvellous effects. This word mode, as used by them, signifies reason, measure, or the form by which we serve ourselves in creative work. Reason compels us not to go beyond certain limits, to study nature with moderation and intelligence, to keep in each work a definite order, and to preserve to each thing its essential characteristics. These modes of the ancients combined the like and the unlike. Constancy in the proportions and the arrangement gave to each mode its peculiar character ; namely, power to inspire the soul with certain passions. Each mode also had a special property attributed to it by the Greek philosophers, analogous to the effects which they had seen it produce. These wise men applied the Dorian mode to grave, severe, and wise matters. The Phrygian, on the contrary, was associated with warlike subjects and vehement passions. They wished the Lydian mode to relate to sad and mournful sentiments, and the Hypolydian to sweet and agreeable feelings. Finally, they invented the Ionian mode to paint vivid emotion and joyous scenes, such as dances, fêtes, and bacchanals. In the like manner good poets have used diligence and marvellous skill, not only to accommodate their style to the subjects treated, but also to

adapt the choice of words and the rhythm to the object they wished to portray. Virgil, above all others, has shown himself a great observer. So proficient is he that often, by the mere sound of words chosen, he actually puts before us the thing described. If he speaks of love, his words are so skilfully brought together that a sweet harmony results, whereas, when he sings of warlike deeds or describes a tempest, the verse hastens, and the resonant sounds admirably depict a scene of fury, tumult, and terror." "Taste in amateurs varies as much as talent in painters. There should be as much diversity in the judgments of the former as in the productions of the latter. History shows that each of the great painters of antiquity excelled in some direction. One may conclude that no one man possessed perfection. Omitting mention of Polygnotus and Aglaophon, who were celebrated as colourists, let us come down to the time when painting best flourished, which is, I think, since the period of the successors of Philip of Macedonia. Here we find each artist possessing, to a high degree, at least one distinguishing virtue. Protogenes had diligence and curiosity; Pamphilos and Melanthios understanding; Antiphilos facility; Theon of Samos imagination; last of all came Apelles, who had naturalness and grace. A like difference is found among the sculptors. Callon

and Hegias made statues stiffer and more portrait-like than the Tuscans. Calamis' plastic works are less rigid than those of the earlier masters, and Myron's even more supple. Polyclitus shows more diligence and beauty in his creations than all the others. While most writers attribute to him the palm, some think him lacking in gravity. Although he gave supernatural charm to the human form, he could not represent the majesty of the gods, nor even the dignity of old men. Qualities found wanting in him belong to Phidias and Alcamenes. The same observations hold good of those artists famous since the year 350 B.C. I believe, if one examine well, it will be discovered that I also have a place in the history." "I am not sorry that people blame and criticize me. It is nothing new, no one has ever spared me. On the contrary, I have often been a mark at which slander has drawn her aim. In truth, blame has brought me not a little profit, it has made me go cautiously, which I have done all my life. Those who find fault cannot teach me better; they lead me, however, to seek for myself means of improvement." "Those who have only thought about the misfortunes of life, when assailed by some sudden disgrace, are touched to the quick and find experience very different from imagination." "But who knows what can succeed? Sometimes,

if we lost nothing, we should lose. The greatest evils come from great prosperity. These are the secret ways that Nature takes to produce changes."

What has been judged successful or condemned as unworthy of immortality in the art of Nicolas Poussin? Lorenzo Bernini (1589—1680) was neither a patron, rival, neighbour, nor particular friend of the great painter. For these reasons, and because he was an artist and a contemporary, we may regard him as an unprejudiced critic. A brief outline of Bernini's career is here given, so far as it bears relation to Poussin. The two great men, living in Rome at the same time, naturally knew of each other's work. They were antipodes in genius and character. Bernini appears to have been a vain man, full of words, eager for fame and money, and suspicious (not without reason, being surrounded by spies while in France, he grew increasingly suspicious of others). He was spoiled by the favour of popes and the praise accorded to his works. In 1665 Louis XIV., acting by the advice of Minister Colbert, invited Bernini to Paris to furnish a plan for one of the Louvre façades (that side which faces the St. Auxerrois Church).¹ On arrival in France the artist was

¹ In 1664 Poussin saw various plans for this Louvre-façade when they were submitted to the criticism of artists in Rome. At that time Minister Colbert announced to the painter his

received with almost princely honours. Bernini remained in Paris from May until October 1665, but his plans for the Louvre were not accepted. He left behind in France a bust of the King, which is now at Versailles, and a wretched equestrian statue of Louis XIV., made later by him, sent to France in 1685, is now banished to the Swiss Lakes of the Versailles Gardens (dubbed Marcus Curtius by Girardon, who added to it a helmet). Bernini's grand atrium and colonnades before St. Peter's in Rome furnishes a good example of the best he could do in architecture. His flamboyant sculpture may be well studied in the baldachin with spiral columns, and the dramatic tombs of Urban VIII. and Alexander VII. in this same church. Paul de Chantelou had met Lorenzo Bernini in Italy, and, since he could speak Italian, while Bernini knew little French, it came about that M. de Chantelou acted as guide and interpreter for the King's guest. He kept notes of this visit, called *Journal du Voyage Cavalier Bernin*

project of sending to Rome a certain number of young artists, in order that they might there, during a stay of some years, form taste and style by the study of great original works. The Minister informed Poussin that the King charged him with the direction and care of such students. He sent the master twelve hundred crowns for this purpose. This was the origin of the French School in Rome, which opened in 1666 with twelve *pensionnaires*. In 1667, two years after Poussin's death, Bernini was appointed to his place as Counsellor to the Academy.

en France. From this journal, recently published,¹ an account has been pieced together of this architect's remarks on seeing Poussin's works in Paris. M. de Chantelou displayed with pride the treasures of his fine collection. Standing before a portrait, Bernini asked whose likeness it was; when told he ought to know, he said: "It must be Poussin's." His host explained that it had been made by an artist unused to portraiture. Bernini found the work very remarkable, and greatly admired it. After seeing other examples by the same hand, he exclaimed: "Truly, he is a great historical and mythological painter." "Hercules and Cacus" delayed him a long time; of this picture he said: "That is beautiful. He has made Hercules very slender, likewise the young persons who carry his club and lion's skin." He thought the "Triumph of Bacchus" did not look like a work in Poussin's style, but praised the trees and composition, and cried: "Oh! he is a good narrator." Then he passed into the room where the "Seven Sacraments" had been placed. The "Confirmation" was first uncovered. He looked at it a long while in silence, then remarked: "He has imitated Raphael's colouring. It is a beautiful historical picture. What devotion! What silence! What

¹ Ludovic Lalanne, *Journal du Voyage du Cav.^e Bernini en France.* *Gazette des Beaux-Arts.* Paris, 1877—1885.

a lovely young girl!" He admired also the Levite, the woman wearing yellow, and all the figures in this painting. His guide next drew back the curtain from "Marriage." Bernini thought the priest not dressed like a high-priest. M. de Chantelou explained that the event took place before the establishment of the Christian religion. Bernini answered: "The Jews had high-priests then." He especially liked the attention of the spectators during the ceremony. "Extreme Unction" was put in a good light, in order that the architect might see it well. At first he stood, then knelt before it, and seemed astonished. At last he rose, and said: "It makes upon me the same effect as a beautiful sermon, followed with attention." He took a seat before the "Baptism," which also was carried to a window, and remarked of this: "It pleases me less than the others." After looking at all these pictures for more than an hour, he rose to take leave, and exclaimed: "You have given me to-day great discontent, by revealing the merit of this man, and by forcing me to acknowledge that I am nobody." M. de Chantelou told him he ought to be satisfied to reach the height of perfection in his line of work. Bernini admired most of all the "Extreme Unction," but thus praised the series: "I esteem these pictures in and for themselves, without

regard to this painter or any other." He added : "If I had to choose one of these paintings, I should not know which to take. I have always esteemed Seigneur Poussin, and I remember well that Guido (Reni) took it ill when I spoke in praise of the 'Martyrdom of St. Erasmus' to Pope Urban VIII. Guido thought I exaggerated its merits, but I said if I were a painter, the sight of such a painting would rouse in me a feeling of shame. Poussin has genius, but he has borrowed largely from the antique." When leaving the house, Bernini congratulated his friend on having such a collection : "You possess in these works a treasure which you would not part with for any consideration." He went to visit M. Cerisiers' gallery, and found "Esther before King Ahasuerus" very charming, but quite after Raphael's manner. "The Virgin with Ten Figures" he admired, with the exception of Maria's head, which did not seem to be in Poussin's style. Some one explained to him that this belonged to the master's last productions. To this he replied : "Men should cease working after a certain age." M. de Chantelou answered : "Men have difficulty in stopping ; often they go on from habit or to divert themselves." Bernini added : "Such work only injures reputation." On seeing the "Adoration of the Kings," owned by M. Chamois, he was aston-

ished that Poussin, who had such learning in costume, should have given these kings heads and manners of ordinary persons, just like apostles. One man, indeed, resembled Joseph, but if he had not seen a Moor in the painting, he should have doubted whether it was an Adoration. It was necessary to read the title to name these persons kings. Charles Lebrun, who was present, remarked by way of apology, that Poussin had called these men Magi.

Nicolas Poussin's artistic career presents no well-defined changes in style, except in the development of landscape. Between the first and last works there is, of course, a vast difference. After the fresco at Grand Andely, the "Death of the Virgin," the "Plague at Ashdod," and the Bacchanals of the first period, came many years of preparation, thought, and rich opportunities for growth. Classification of Poussin's works, save in a catalogue, seems inadequate and somewhat misleading. In his youth, on that wearisome journey from Poitou to Paris, he painted a Bacchanal for Count de Chiverny, and some religious pieces for the Capuchins at Blois. Inspiration for these subjects he found in the prints of Courtois' collection, and in the literary and artistic productions of that period. Michael Angelo and Raphael owed much to princes, popes, and literati of their day,

who either insisted upon or offered them subjects for their art. Poussin also worked for patrons, and received suggestions from them, but more than was customary among the artists who preceded him, selected his own themes. His pictures were the direct outcome of his special studies, and each is a thesis complete in itself. He made no complicated designs, no long series of preparatory sketches, involving many changes, before the final composition was reached. His replicas are so varied, so full of new motives, that they are far from being mere repetitions. Notice, for instance, his treatment of the subject in the two pictures, "The Triumph of David," or the five "Moses Saved from the Nile," or the two great series of the "Seven Sacraments." It is a question where Nicolas Poussin's genius finds the highest and fullest expression. Opinions differ widely on this point. In his youth, Poussin delighted in mythology; in his mature years, he found there relaxation, and he never quite lost pleasure in depicting the free life of fauns, satyrs and nymphs. He has been said to represent this theme too seriously, and with not enough abandon.¹ Considering the nature of this painter-philosopher, our wonder increases, in the survey of his entire work, that he could do so well. In these creations, if anywhere,

¹ Eugène Delacroix, *Journal*, v. 2, p. 63. Paris, 1893.

he "let himself go." One must praise the slender, elegant forms, and their entire absence of trace of coarseness or vulgarity. If, in the delineation of Bacchanals, his humour falls below that of Velazquez, his refinement certainly rises higher than that of Rubens. In this class of his work, Poussin adopted, but did not well assimilate, the colours of Titian.

Sacred pictures exceed all others in number, the reason for this being either that such themes were called for by his patrons, or that the artist's mind worked best upon such subjects. A wealth of invention in design and expression appears in these paintings. In most of the scenes taken from the Bible, some part or feature of his composition seems always modelled after Domenichino, Titian, Raphael, or other great Renaissance painter, yet each picture receives a distinctively personal stamp. No student of art can confound the works of Perugino and Raphael, or those of Rubens and Van Dyck ; neither can one mistake Poussin's creations for those of his masters. Although antique studies are omnipresent, the artist is greater than the antiquarian. His archæological efforts now-a-days would receive but scant attention, but Poussin followed all the light he had, and studied most faithfully ancient armour, costume, drapery, architecture, etc. The

spirit of classical art is in his work. He made no display of learning in details, but kept subordinate things strictly in their places, and forced accessories to help in the more complete expression of his thought. In the religious scenes, his figures appear, for the most part, too short or too thick-set, the result of his relief studies and use of ample draperies. In the "Seven Sacraments," and other examples, one may observe a strange mixture of elements partly sacred, partly pagan. The thought is always clear, the action appropriate, the story plainly told, but the heart beats no faster, and spiritual life is rarely quickened by these Biblical pictures. The painter is weakest in the use of gesture. Although all the features of the face may deceive by their calmness, or form a mask, the play of hands betrays the emotion and tells the secret. No painter knew this better than Da Vinci. Poussin's hands do not always perform their duty quite naturally. He copied Leonardo and Raphael, and did not go directly to living models for his gestures. These are sometimes so exaggerated as to border on caricature, the very last thing which he contemplated. He employs gestures well, however, in the "Manna," and "Christ Healing the Blind Men."

Nicolas Poussin's genius reached its height in subjects taken from Greek or Roman history.

Here he appears in original work, since, before the sixteenth century, Greek and Roman heroes and their life had rarely furnished material to painters. Such works as the "Death of Germanicus," the "Continnence of Scipio Coriolanus," the "Rape of the Sabines," and the "Testament of Eudamidas," offered this artist a most congenial field. He is great in the clear and accurate presentation of each scene, which always shows both variety of action and restraint in the employment of details. For that age, he is a savant in the knowledge and use of drapery. This he treats, either as a resource to strengthen impression, or adopts, because suited to time and place. Ample folds cover, but do not hide the form; the artist understands the nude, and his bodies are anatomically constructed. Anachronisms occur, but do not disturb the beholder. Roman architecture, transferred to Biblical countries, was an invariable appendage to painting in this and earlier periods. Although Poussin's art is rich in thought and bears a subjective and philosophical stamp, yet it is never dull or mannered. Few examples exist of humour.¹ The only case known to the author is the "Death of Philemon." The Greek poet becomes convulsed with laughter, and dies, on seeing an ass eating some figs from a basket.

¹ Landon, No. 145.

Genre features appear more frequently than one would suppose possible, until he made a search for them. An instance of this is found among the Louvre designs, in a picture called the "Interior of a Home."¹ A child has upset a pitcher of water and flooded the room. A brother pulls the little one towards their mother, who holds a whip ready to punish the offender. The culprit cries, and seeks to defend himself from his big brother. The racket seems worse than the original misfortune. A baby, lying in a cradle, wakes and troubles, by its cries, a father who is ill in bed. Two girls who are busy preparing a meal suspend their work to attend to the children. Genre belongs to the "Confirmation," the "Manna," and other examples, while the play of children is found in all the mythological and nearly all the religious works.

In common with all great masters, Nicolas Poussin employs favourite motives. Such are, for instance, a curtain behind a bed or couch, looped up as seen in ancient bas-reliefs, a man in a thoughtful attitude, his hand on beard; a man whose hair is flying over brow; a man on horse-back; a woman with a baby in her arms; two children embracing, etc. He has a marked and very original use of yellow. In a "Holy Family with an Elephant," a picture owned by the Marquis

¹ Gault de Saint-Germain, p. 12.

of Chennevières in Paris, is an angel who has wonderful golden hair, with raiment to match. She is one of the loveliest creations of the master's brush. Such a figure is proof enough that Poussin could employ colour well when he chose. He believed that colour tended, by an appeal to the senses, to divert the mind from the deep meaning of his thought. His theory or principles led him, not so much to neglect colour as to hold himself in check about its application. He regarded harmony of expression as the highest aim of a painter, and execution as the servant of the idea. How dramatic his art can become may be seen in the "Massacre of the Innocents" (Chantilly). Only two or three mothers, babies and their executioners, only an episode of the drama, a corner of the bloody stage, yet the effect is one of great power. Poussin's force, as here displayed, is robust and strong, very different from the nervous art of the present. Here, as in other examples, the painter uses no artifices, no tricks in trade; all is as straightforward in his art as in his character. Inspiration came from Italy, but nationality gave style to his work.

Some one has said that in Nicolas Poussin's landscapes such things as chickens, heaps of manure and hand-carts cannot be imagined. In general this may be true but exceptions belong to all rules.

Sheep, cows, horses, and dogs are not uncommon in his scenes, perhaps search might find a hen with her chickens. Majestic trees, temples crowning heights, a few solitary figures in the foreground; all combine to leave an impression not unlike that felt by the traveller who visits the grounds of Roman villas, or wanders out towards Tivoli and Albano. For these delineations of nature, he found scarcely any models in the realm of art, and few painters of his day approach him in power. In matters of technique, in the attention given to the figures, trees, etc., of the first plane, and, in a gradation of less and less elaborate treatment for the other planes, his landscapes resemble the works of others who have attempted to describe such scenes. Poussin's chief distinction as a landscapist is that he found natural scenery a worthy subject, in and for itself, and elevated it, by his brush, into a distinct branch of art.

In one of his letters from Paris, the painter speaks of the Gothic style, and calls it barbaric.¹ The essence of this style is aspiration. Aspiration is precisely what seems lacking in Nicolas Poussin's painting, yet recalling "Time Rescues Truth," "The Vision of Paul," and "The Assumption of the Virgin," one may well hesitate about making so general a statement. All the talents are never

¹ MS. 12347, June 16, 1641

concentrated in one man, and we must not expect to find perfection in this artist. In Poussin's character was a fine combination of the Christian worshipper and Greek sage. His art has the repose and grace of the best Greek sculpture, united to the dignity and strength of the Norman cathedral. But that the work of this master holds condensed the highest expression of French genius,¹ is a statement which savours of extravagance. From this study, however, it is plain that the art of Nicolas Poussin does not manifest itself in a powerful appeal to the senses through brilliant and seductive colour. It reveals itself neither in a finished and elaborate technique demanding our chief admiration, nor by an encyclopædic knowledge, displayed in features that should be kept subordinate. It rests upon a literary and classical basis, and is eclectic in the range of studies. It demands above all a clear presentation, and emphasizes design, form, and expression in a composition. It insists that every picture shall have some thought of deep meaning. His art reveals, in its totality, more invention than imagination. The artist reasoned more than he observed. He became absorbed in his studies of ancient and Renaissance masters, and, although he loved nature and sought truth, these scholastic pursuits hindered intimate contact with living things.

¹ Ph. de Chennevières, p. 78.

APPENDIX

I. THE POUSSIN FAMILY

ACCORDING to the account of M. de Ruville,¹ Jean Poussin and his wife had three children, Marguerite, Jeanne, and Nicolas, all of whom married and left no posterity. This Sub-prefect found in the baptismal acts of Notre Dame at Grand Andely, the names of Marguerite as god-mother in 1598, Jeanne in 1604, and Nicolas as god-father in 1610. He says Marie Lemoine inherited her mother's property and married George Letellier. Existing records furnish no proofs that Jean Poussin had any daughters.² Marguerite, not Marie Lemoine, married George Letellier. The following genealogical table is derived from the Archives de la Seine-Inférieure at Rouen. Marie Delaisement married, in 1582, Claude Lemoine; after his death she married, about 1592, Jean Poussin. Marguerite Lemoine married,

¹ Brossard de Ruville, *Histoire des Andelis*. Les Andelys, 1864, page 418.

² Charles Legay, *Bulletin de la Soc. de l'Histoire de Normandie*. Rouen, 1875—1880, p. 148.

about 1604, George Letellier; their children were: David Letellier, born in 1605; Nicolas in 1608; Marie in 1610; Françoise in 1615. Nicolas Letellier married Marie Honoré. Françoise Letellier married Antoine Postel. The children of Nicolas Letellier and Marie Honoré were: Matthias, born in 1644; Françoise in 1646; Marie in 1647; Jean in 1648. Matthias Letellier married Marie Matré in 1669; he died in 1673. Jean Letellier married Marie Hebert in 1669; he died in 1672. Antoine Postel and Françoise Letellier had three children: Marie, born in 1645; Françoise in 1647; André in 1648. Jean Letellier's only child died in 1673, his property then reverted to Matthias Letellier, whose son Nicolas was a cavalier in the regiment of St. Simon. The son of this officer became a priest. M. de Ruville says (p. 427): "That branch of the Letellier family, whom the painter had made his heirs, ceased with the death of Nicolas the priest." This is inexact. Françoise Letellier, wife of Antoine Postel (called Posterla in the painter's will), had three children. Nicolas Poussin left Françoise one thousand crowns, and named her children as his heirs, in case Jean Letellier should not survive him.

II. COPY OF THE MARRIAGE ACT

IX Aug., 1630. Nicolaus filius Joannis Baptiste Pussin galli ex parochia sanctae Mariae del Populo

et Anna filia Jacobi Dugé zitella romana ex nostra parochia in via Frattina, contraxerunt matrimonium per verba de praesenti, juxta ritum sanctae matris ecclesiae, servatis coram supraedicto curato, praesentibus ac testibus Ludovico de Rossi romano et Simone de Rossi Anconitano.

III. BREVET OF LOUIS XIV

“Le Roy bien mémoratif d’ avoir cydevant accordé au sieur Samson Lepage, mareschal des logis de son régiment des Gardes Suisses, par son brevet du 20 mai 1642, confirmatif de celui du 5 nov. 1638, la conciergerie du pavillon de la Cloche, situé dans son jardin des Tuileries . . . tout ainsy qu’en auoit cy deuant jouy le feu sieur Manou, lequel pavillon a depuis esté occupé par le sieur Poussin peintre jusques à son retour à Rome, lequel s’en estant retourne sans auoir desclaré s’il auoit dessein de reuenir en France ’habituer au d. logement, S.M. auoit ordonné au sieur Lepage de retarder d’en prendre possession jusqu’a ce qu’elle eust été informée de la volonté du d. Poussin, et que pour cet effect Elle auoit commandé d’en escrire au sieur marquis de St. Chaumont son ambassadeur extraordinaire à Rome, lequel par sa lettre en date du 26 sept. dernier, auroit mandé que le d. Sr. Poussin s’estoit expliqué qu’il ne pouvoit se résoudre de s’acheminer à Paris, et que, quand il y viendrait, jamais de loger dans la d.

maison en laquelle il a esté incommodé pour beaucoup de raisons, et mieux, qu' il l' auoit remise entre les mains du Sr. de Noyers, il y a plus d' un an . . . permet à Lepage d' en prendre possession."¹

IV. AUTOGRAPHES DU POUSSIN. BIBLIOTHÈQUE
NATIONALE, PARIS, Ms. 12347

Dates.	Côtes.	Poussin's Lettres.	Comptes.	Copies du Testaments.	Lettres divers.
1638	1-2	1			
1639	3-24	9	.	.	1 de Noyers
1640	25-31		.	.	{ de Noyers 1 Mazarin
1641	32-62	15	.	.	{ 1 de Noyers 1 Mazarin
1642	63-80	6	.	.	3 de Noyers
1643	81-105	12	1	.	1 Mazarin
1644	106-140	19	2		
1645	141-153	10			
1646	154-170	12	1		
1647	171-188	12			
1648	189-204	9	1		
1649	205-219	11			
1651	220-323	2			
1652	224-225	1			
1653	226-229	3			
1655	230-237	5			
1657	238-239	1			
1658	240-243	2			
1660	244-246	1	1		
1662	247-249	2			
1663	250-252	2			
1664	253-254	1			
1665	255-256	1	.	.	4 1 Giov. Dughet
Total	256	137	6	4	12

¹ A. Jal, *Dictionnaire Critique*. Paris, 1872, p. 997.

Collection de Lettres de Nicolas Poussin, Paris, 1824, edited by Quatremère de Quincy, does not contain the following letters, found in the autographs in the National Library at Paris, in MS. 12347. Minister de Noyers' letters to M. de Chantelou, dated October 12, 1639; May 8, 1639; August 13, 1639; December 4, 1640; March 19, 1641; September 14, 1642; November 26, 1642. Cardinal Mazarin's letters to M. de Chantelou, dated December 4, 1640, and January 22, 1643. Nicolas Poussin's letters to M. de Noyers, April 17, 1641; to M. de Chantelou, dated March 19, June 20, and July 12, 1641; to M. de Chantelou aîné of January 7, 1649, and May 19, 1649. Giovanni Dughet's letter to M. de Chantelou, dated December 1, 1665. No letters of the years 1650, 1654, 1656, 1659, 1661, are among the autographs, and no letters addressed to Cassiano Del Pozzo.

Quatremère de Quincy's book contains no letters belonging to the year 1640. Errors of his work in dates are as follows: February 19, 1639, to M. de Chantelou, is in the manuscript, February 20, 1639; April 28 should be April 13; August 15, August 6 of the year 1639. April 30 should be April 17, 1641. February 20 should read February 25; March 18, March 8, 1644; July 23, July 9; and October 17, October 15, 1645; July 8, July 28, 1647; August 16, August 2, 1648;

November 18, November 10, 1651; November 25, November 29, 1658.

A few errors also occur in this printed edition of Poussin's letters in the names of artists. The editor confuses R. le Vieux with Cl. le Rieux; Perlan Poissan with Thibaut Poissan; Jean and Roland de Chantelou. Besides twenty-four letters to Cassiano Del Pozzo, this book contains one hundred and forty-six other letters; of these the following are not in manuscript form. Two from Louis XIII.; one from M. de Noyers, dated December 15, 1639; one undated from Poussin to M. de Noyers; one from Poussin to M. de Chantelou, May 10, 1642; another from the painter to the same person, undated; one to M. de Chantelou, April 24, 1642; one to M. de Chantelou the elder, May 17, 1645; one to M. de Chantelou, February 11, 1646; ten others from Poussin to M. de Chantelou, written in 1650.

*Extracts from the letters of Minister de Noyers
and Cardinal Mazarin.*

M. de Noyers wrote October 12, 1639, to M. de Chantelou as follows: "The Cardinal was right in urging me to send you to Piedmont, for I see well that without your care the citadel of Turin would have offered us an affront. I pray God that you may be useful there, and beg you to take

care of your health. I shall be glad when you can send me a detailed account of all the work which you have undertaken and of what remains to be done. But we must not forget Monsieur Poussin and the sculptor who are to return with you. That will be a good recompense for your absence, which seems to me insupportable. I love you as myself." May 8, 1640, he writes to the same correspondent: "The King sends you to Rome to bring back *Sieur Poussin* and *Françoise the sculptor*. Your principal care is to persuade them to come. The King has heard that the chief reason of their delay is apprehension of changes and fickleness on the part of the French, should they leave their homes in Rome. You must make them know that they need fear no such frustration of hopes or any recall of appointments promised by his Majesty. If they refuse to come, you must try to obtain others. If you see valuable art works for sale, buy them." During the journey of M. de Chantelou and Nicolas Poussin from Rome to Paris, Cardinal Mazarin, then in Piedmont, as ambassador extraordinary, wrote to M. de Chantelou, December 4, 1640, a letter which he received on arrival in Paris. After speaking of some bagatelles, purchased in Rome and despatched *viâ Lyons* to Paris, which he begs M. de Chantelou to look after, the Cardinal adds: "I am impatient to be again at Court to meet Poussin, and I heartily

rejoice in the good resolution which he has made." March 19, 1641, Minister de Noyers sends word from Ruel to his secretary that he is glad to hear of Poussin's arrival, and of the painter's entire satisfaction with all the arrangements. M. de Noyers' letter of September 4, 1642, relates to some designs which he wishes from Poussin, for his orangery. The communication of November 26, 1642, refers to some bronzes and other works purchased in Rome. Jacques Stella had written that Poussin would not return. M. de Noyers answers to this: "I believe him to be a man of honour; he will keep his word without being forced."

V. COPY OF THE MORTUARY ACT OF ANNA MARIA POUSSIN

Le registre mortuaire de la femme du Nicolas Poussin.¹ (Saint-Laurent in Lucina en ville de Rome.) Au registre des décès 16 Octobre, 1664. Act de décès de dame Anna Maria, fille du Sieur Jacques Dughet, romaine, âgée de 52 ans, femme du Nicolas Poussin.

¹ Hippolyte Lemonnier, Secrétaire de l'Académie de France, Rome. *Annuaire de la Société Philotechnique*. Paris, 1859, p. 180.

VI. COPY OF THE MORTUARY ACT OF
NICOLAS POUSSIN

Fidem facio ego infrascriptus curatus ecclesiae parochialis St. Laurentie in Lucina cler reg. de Urbe qualiter in libro mortuorum fol. 165 reperitur infrascripta particula videlicet il di 19. novembre 1665. Nicolo figlio del quondam Gio. Peresin (sic) della dioecesi di Andelis in Normandiâ marito dell Sigr. Anna Pussina romana, mori della comunione di Sta. madre chiesa, in età di anni 72, nella case dove abitava in strada Paolina, ricevè tutti li SS. Sacramenti; e fù seppelito in questa chiesa, etc. In quorem fidem etc. datum Romae hâc die 29 mensis Augusti, anno 1780. J. Bapta. Cataffi con-curatus.

VII. LETTER OF GIOVANNI DUGHET TO
M. DE CHANTELOU

La morte del Sig. Poussin successe il 19 novemb. circâ il mezzo giorno, con sentimenti tanto devoti che gli sacerdoti che l'assistevano, mossi di Cordoglio inusitato compiansero anch'essi il fine di cosî illustre ingegno . . . tre giorno avanti che il detto Sig. Poussin passasse al altra vita mi commandô ch'io non solo scrivessi a V.S. illustrissima, ma che ancora li mandasse la copia del suo testamento acciò da vostra illustrissima si

potesse receiver gratia mandarla al suo herede, il quale si nomina Giovanni Letellier figliuolo di Nicolò Letellier et di Maria Honorati etc. . . Il sudetto Signore lasciò che non si dovesse spendere nel suo funerale altro che 20 scudi come lei possa legger nel suo testamento, ma parendomi poco rispetto al suo gran merito io ho spesi 60 scudi et di questo non occorre parlar ne cosa alcuna. Roma, fin de novembre 1665.

(Translation.) "The death of M. Poussin took place on the 19th of November, at midday. The priests who attended him, were greatly moved and filled with unusual sorrow at the loss of such an eminent man. M. Poussin asked me three days before he passed away, to write to your Highness, and to transmit to you, as quickly as possible, a copy of his last will, in order that you might send the same to his heir, Giovanni Letellier, son of Nicolas Letellier and Maria Honorati (Honoré). M. Poussin wished that not more than 20 scudi be expended for his funeral, as you will see in his Testament, but this sum seemed to me too small, in relation to his great merit. I have therefore spent 60 scudi, and consider that no one has any right to question me about this."

VIII. CATALOGUE OF NICOLAS POUSSIN'S
COLLECTION

Mémoire des pièces qui se sont trouvée à Rome dans le cabinet de Nicolas Poussin et qui sont présentement à vendre entre les mains du sieur Giovanni son beau-frere et son héritier, en 1678.¹

Disegni diversi di M. Poussin. Un libro di disegni fatti da Poussin cioe dal antico, da Raffa-
elle, et da Giulio Romano et d'altri, per suo studio,
che contiene nel numero di fogli 160, alcuni
disegnati da tutti due le bande ; 200 doppie. Un
altro libro del sudetto, di diversi pensieri disegnati
della sua invention, che contiene foglio 160,
alcuni disegnati dalle due bande : 200 doppie.
Alcuni disegni di paesi, numero 50, di animali,
numero 20, con alcune teste, numero 70 : 50
doppie. Stampe di varii pittori. Stampe di
Raffaelle, intagliate da Marc Antonio, da Agos-
tino Veneziano, et da altri buoni autori, conservate
e bene impresse, e senza macchie, nel numero di
270 : 100 doppie. Libro delle opere di Alberto
Durero, intagliate in legno et al bulino, numero
357 : 70 doppie. Libro delle opere di Caracci al
bulino et all'aqua forte, con la vita dell' istesso,
numero di 242 : 40 doppie. Libro di Polidoro
Caravaggio nel numero di 70 : 15 doppie. Libro

¹ *Archives de l'art Français*. Paris, Doc. t. VI. p. 251.

di Titiano, paesi et altre opere, numero 52 : 35 doppie. Libro di Andrea Mantegna, numero 32 : 12 doppie. Libro di Giulio Romano, numero 150 : 15 doppie. Libro d'architectura del Vignola; libro d'architectura del Labaco; orignali (1); 3 doppie.

Mémoire di alcune Statue e busti antichi.— Numa Pompilio II. re de Romani, busto e testa antica, due volte al naturale: 100 doppie. Lucio Vero, imperatore, piu grande al naturale: 15 doppie. Cleopatra, regina d'Egitto, teste e busto antica, tutta di un pezzo: 25 doppie. Augusto, testa antica, col busto di diaspro di Sicilia: 36 doppie. Gallicula, testa antica, col busto di diaspro di Sicilia: 36 doppie. Faustina vecchia, testa e busto antico: 36 doppie. Dru-sella antico: 25 doppie. Brittanico, giovanetto, testa antica, il busto d'alabastro: 25 doppie. Nerone, giovanetto, testa antica, il busto d'alabastro orientale: 25 doppie. Antinoò antico: 12 doppie. Fauno, testa e busto antica: 10 doppie. Mercurio, testa antica, con poco busto moderno: 10 doppie.

Statue di Marmor antiche.—Flora, alto palmi cinque; Cupido, alto palmi cinque; Hercole, alto palmi cinque: 90 doppie. *Statue di bronzo.*—Una Fortuna, di palmi due, di Giovanni Bologna, conservatissima, per cabinetto: 15 doppie. Un busto di Galba, con la testa, cioe busto (di marmore e la testa di bronzo) alto mezzo piede di

altezza, di metallo Corinto: 12 doppie. *Vase*.—Due Vase di alabastro di Sicilia, con il loro coperchio, ciascuno alto di palmi uno mezzo: 10 doppie. Una vase, di alabastro orientale trasparente, alto palmi uno e mezzo, col suo coperchio: 8 doppie.

IX. OBSERVATIONS OF NICOLAS POUSSIN
ON PAINTING

On the Example of Good Masters.

One should join theory to practice. So long as precepts are not put into action, they cannot produce a habit of work whose result is skill. A long, winding road rarely brings a young artist to his journey's end; the escort of a good guide will show a shorter and more direct route.

*Definition of Painting and its Proper
Imitation.*

Painting, in the noble style, is nothing else than the imitation of such human actions as can be pictured. When circumstances force one to imitate other objects, they should be made accessories. Painters may, therefore, imitate human actions and every aspect of nature.

How Art Surpasses Nature.

Art is not a different thing from nature, consequently must not exceed the limits assigned to it by nature, whose gifts are scattered, here and there, in works of art, at different times and places. Full instruction must not be looked for from one master. The aim of study must be the union of all excellences, perfection in works of art.

How the Impossible forms sometimes Perfection in Painting and Poetry.

Aristotle demonstrated by the example of Zeuxis, that a poet is permitted to say impossible things; for instance, it is impossible that there should be in nature a woman who unites in herself all the beauties we admire in Helen, a woman more perfect than natural.

The Limits of Drawing and Colour.

It is important to avoid both too much softness and too much severity in lines and colours. That kind of painting is elegant where foreground and background are well united by the middle field. Thus may be explained the harmony and discords of colours and their limitations.

Action.

There are two means of influencing the minds of spectators—action and style. The first is as powerful and efficacious in itself as the rhetoric of Demosthenes. Cicero calls it the language of the body. Quintillian attributed to it so much power that, without it, he regarded thoughts, expression of affection, and other testimonials, as useless. Unless action be present in a painting, design and colour will not persuade the mind.

*About certain Forms, Greatness of Subject,
Thought, Execution and Style.*

The grand style consists in four things: Subject, thought, execution and style. The first thing that one demands, as the foundation of all the others, is that the nature of the subject be grand, such as divine things, battles, and heroic deeds. If the subject is great, the next point is to avoid puerilities and not to fail in the dignity of the historical presentation. A certain negligence should be exercised in ordinary matters of secondary interest. A painter should not only invent his subject, he must also use judgment to recognize quickly the good and suitable, and what will conduce to perfection in painting. Coarse or vile subjects are the refuge of those who, by reason of the weakness of their talent, cannot choose anything else. The resources of art are useless

for unworthy themes. The thought is a pure product of the soul, and includes all portions of the subject. Such was the thought of Homer, and of Phidias in his Jupiter Olympus. Design should always bring out the thought. Execution, or the composition of all the parts, ought not to be too studied or too elaborate, but suited to the nature of the theme. Style is an individual manner of application and use of ideas. It is an art of drawing and brushwork which belongs to the particular genius of each man.

On the Idea of Beauty.

The idea of beauty does not come into a subject without preparation. The preparation includes order, mode, extent or space, and form. Order signifies the distance of the parts ; mode treats of quantity or number ; form relates to contours and colours. It is not enough that all the parts have a suitable order or space, and that all the figures be in their natural places. There must be also "mode" to keep them within their true limits. Form, when the features are treated with grace and finesse, adds to the harmony of light and shade. True beauty detaches itself from animalism, and only belongs to the body, when induced by preparatory measures that elevate the imagination and excite the mind to give to outward things a higher value than they really

possess. Agreeable painting of the beautiful is the *ne plus ultra* of art.

Novelty.

Novelty in painting consists less in the choice of a subject that has never been treated than its new and varied disposition. Thus, a common or old theme becomes new or individual to him who seizes upon it and elevates it above the treatment which it has previously received. For example, "The Communion of St. Jerome," by Domenichino, is superior in expression to the one made earlier, by Agostino Carracci.

What the Subject one wishes to Treat may Lack and how to Meet the Deficiency.

If a painter wishes to arouse astonishment, although he may not have a proper subject to produce it, he can accomplish his end, if he can exercise his talent upon beautiful technique. Not by unreasonable efforts or novelties, but by his execution, by the superior manner in which he treats his subject, does he excite astonishment. We say of such a work, the merit of the painting surpasses the theme.

Form of Things.

Form is distinguished by the effect produced on the mind. Some forms excite joy and gaiety,

while others arouse sadness and horror. They agitate the soul of the beholder in one or another of these ways.

Colour.

Colours in painting are like verses in poetry : they are the charms that each of the two arts employs to persuade.

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CATALOGUE OF THE PAINTINGS OF NICOLAS POUSSIN IN EUROPEAN GALLERIES

FRANCE.

Louvre Museum, in Paris.

The Virgin appears to St. James the Major.	
The Plague at Ashdod.	1630, for Matteo.
The Triumph of Flora.	1630, for Card. Omodei.
The Faeliscian Schoolmaster.	1637, for M. Passert.
The Israelites gathering Manna.	1639, for M. de Chantelou.
The Rape of the Sabines.	1639, for Duchess d'Aiguillon.
John baptizing in the Jordan.	1640, for C. Del Pozzo.
Bacchanal.	1640, for Card. de Richelieu.
The Last Supper.	1641, for Louis XIII.
The Miracle of St. Francis Xavier.	1641, for M. de Noyers.
Time delivers Truth.	1641, for Card. de Richelieu.
The Finding of Moses.	1647, for M. Pointel.
Rebecca and Eliezar.	1648, for M. Pointel.
Diogenes.	1648, for M. de Lumarque.
The Judgment of Solomon.	1649, for M. Pointel.
Christ heals the Blind Men of Jericho.	1650, for M. Raymon.
Moses saved from the Nile.	1650, for Jacques Stella.
The Vision of St. Paul.	1650, for M. Scarron.

The Assumption of the Virgin.	1650, for M. de Mauroy.
Portrait of Poussin by himself.	1650, for M. de Chantelou.
The Holy Family, with John and Elizabeth.	1651, for Duc de Crequi.
The Adulteress before Christ.	1653, for Le Nôtre.
The Adoration of the Magi.	1653, for M. de Mauroy.
Arcadia.	1653, Coll. of Louis XIV.
The Holy Family.	1656, Coll. of Louis XIV.
Orpheus and Eurydice.	1659, for Charles Lebrun.
The Four Seasons.	1660-64, for Duc de Richelieu.
Moses spurns Pharaoh's Crown.	for Card. Massimi.
Aaron's Rod changes into a Serpent.	for Card. Massimi.
Apollo and Daphne (last work, left unfinished.)	for Card. Massimi.
The Death of Sapphira.	for Fromont de Veines.
Narcissus and Echo.	for Le Nôtre.
The Rescue of Pyrrhus.	Coll. Louis XIV.
Bacchanal.	Coll. Louis XIV.
Mars and Venus.	Coll. Louis XIV.
Mars and Rhea Silvia.	

Chantilly Gallery.

Landscape with Numa Pompilius and Egeria.
Landscape with two Nymphs.
Landscape with Woman bathing her Feet.
Theseus at Trezene.
The Annunciation.
The Massacre of the Innocents.
The Holy Family.
Bacchanal.
Leda.

Montpellier Museum.

The Death of St. Cecilia.
Portrait of Cardinal Rospigliosi.

The Baptism of Jesus Christ.

A Child plays a flute while a Satyr sleeps.

Rebecca and Eliezar.

Venus and Adonis.

The Birth of Bacchus.

The Adoration of the Shepherds.

The Judgment of Paris.

The Colosseum at Rome.

Landscape (a woman gathers flowers, other figures repose near a fountain).

Landscape (a mountainous country, ruins of a tower on a height, two travellers).

Landscape (three figures, one man bathing his feet in a stream).

Landscape (three women at a fountain).

Landscape (two shepherds talk with a woman ; a river, a boat with two persons, buildings in the background).

Lille Museum.

Moses saved from the Nile. (Replica of the Louvre example.)

Caen Museum.

The Death of Adonis.

Toulouse Museum.

St. John (a half-length figure).

Museum at Grand Andely.

Coriolanus.

Rouen Museum.

Venus bearing Arms to Aeneas.

Nancy Museum.

Christ's Entrance into Jerusalem.

Nîmes Museum.

Christ and the Samaritan Woman.

RUSSIA.

Hermitage Gallery at St. Petersburg.

- Rinaldo and Armida. 1637, for Jacques Stella.
The Triumph of Galatea. 1638, for Card. Richelieu.
Esther before Ahasuerus. For M. Cerisiers.
Moses smiting the Rock. 1649, for Jacques Stella.
The Holy Family, with John and Anna.
The Descent from the Cross.
The Continnence of Scipio.
The Feast of Bacchus.
Tancred and Erminia.
Landscape with Polyphemus.
Charity.
Cupids Playing.
Cupids with the Dogs of Adonis.
Hercules and Cacus.
Venus and Pan.
Revel and Sacrifice to Pan.
Joshua vanquishes the Amorites.
Satyr and Nymph.
Nymph riding a Goat.
Nymph, Amor and Satyr.

SPAIN.

Prado Gallery at Madrid.

- The Triumph of David.
Silenus.
Parnassus.
The Chase of Meleager.
The Combat of Gladiators.
Architectural Ruins.
Escena Baguica.
St. Jerome in the Desert.

The Sacrifice of Noah.
 Anchorites and Animals.
 Jesus appears to Mary.
 St. Cecilia.
 Bacchanal with Ariadne.
 Landscape with Diana.
 Landscape with River, Boat, and two Figures.
 Landscape with three Figures.
 Landscape with Woods and Ruins.

GERMANY.

Berlin Gallery.

The Nurture of Jupiter.
 Landscape with St. Matthew and an Angel.
 Rinaldo and Armida.
 Juno and Argus.

Dresden Gallery.

The Empire of Flora.
 The Exposition of Moses.
 Pan and Syrinx.
 Narcissus and Echo.
 The Adoration of the Magi.
 Venus and Cupid.

Cassel Gallery.

Landscape with Nymph, Satyrs and Amors.

Munich Gallery.

The Entombment.
 Midas and Bacchus.

DENMARK.

Copenhagen Gallery.

The Burning Bush.

Gallery of Count von Moltke in Copenhagen.

The Testament of Eudamidas.

SWEDEN.

Stockholm Museum.

Jacob and Laban.

AUSTRIA.

Vienna Gallery.

The Destruction of Jerusalem.

SS. Peter and Paul heal the Lame Man.

Liechtenstein Gallery in Vienna.

The Flight into Egypt.

Czernin Gallery in Vienna.

The Plague.

ITALY.

Vatican Gallery at Rome.

The Martyrdom of St. Erasmus.

Barberini Gallery in Rome.

The Death of Germanicus.

Doria Gallery in Rome.

Copy of the Aldebrandini Nuptials.

Uffizi Gallery in Florence.

Theseus at Trezene.

Pitti Gallery in Florence.

Three Landscapes.

ENGLAND.

National Gallery in London.

The Plague at Ashdod.
The Dance in Honour of Pan.
A Bacchanalian Feast.
Landscape with Phocion.
Cephalus and Aurora.
The Education of Bacchus.
The Sleeping Venus and Satyrs.

Dukewich Gallery.

The Triumph of David.
The Worship of the Magi.
Rinaldo and Armida.
Translation of a Saint.
The Flight into Egypt.
The Nurture of Jupiter.
The Inspiration of Anacreon.
Landscape.
Venus and Mercury.
The Holy Family.

CATALOGUE OF THE PAINTINGS OF NICOLAS POUSSIN

ARRANGED ACCORDING TO SUBJECTS AND WITH THE NAMES
OF ENGRAVERS.

PORTRAITS.

- Portrait of Nicolas Poussin. 1649, for M. Cerisiers. Jean
Pesne.
Portrait of Nicolas Poussin. 1650, for M. de Chantelou.
Jean Pesne.
Portrait of Julius Rospigliosi. Nicolas Bonnart.
Portrait of François Du Quesnoy (owned by *Lord Cowper*,
Panshanger, England).

THE OLD TESTAMENT.

- The Sacrifice of Noah (Seven Figures). Johann Jacob Frey.
The Sacrifice of Noah (Nine Figures). Stephen Baudet.
The Sacrifice of Noah (*Prado Gallery*). Louis Cossin
Rebecca and Eliezar (*Louvre*). Gilles Rousselet.
Rebecca and Eliezar (*Montpellier*). Auguste Boucher Desnoyers.
Jacob woos Rachel (*Stockholm*). Stephen Baudet.
Jacob woos Rachel. C. P. Landon.
Joseph's Steward finds the Cup in Benjamin's Sack. Smith's
Catalogue, No. 10.
The Exposition of Moses (*Earl Temple, England*). Claudia
Stella.

- The Exposition of Moses (*Dresden*). Smith's Catalogue, No. 13.
- The Finding of Moses (*Louvre*, No. 705). Malbouré; Normand; A. B. Desnoyers.
- The Finding of Moses (*Louvre*, No. 706). Gerard Audran.
- The Finding of Moses (*Bishop Beckwith, Savannah, Georgia, United States*). Antoine Michel Filhol.
- Moses tramples on Pharaoh's Crown (*Duke of Bedford*). Stephen Baudet; Jean Dambrun.
- Moses tramples on Pharaoh's Crown (*Louvre*). Jacques Bouilliard.
- Moses drives the Herdsmen from the Well. Antoine Trouvain.
- Moses drives the Herdsmen from the Well (*Milan*). Pietro Anderloni.
- The Burning Bush. Vernesson.
- Aaron's Rod changes into a Serpent. Stephen Gantrel; Jean Baptiste de Poilly.
- The Passage of the Red Sea (*Earl Radnor, Longford Castle*). Stephen Gantrel.
- The Gathering of the Manna. Guillaume Chasteau; Benoit Audran.
- Moses smites the Rock (*Hermitage Gallery*). Claudia Stella.
- Moses smites the Rock (*Lord Egerton*). Stephen Baudet.
- Group from above (*Duke of Westminster*).
- Two other replicas are given in Smith's Catalogue, Nos. 29, 32.
- The Worship of the Golden Calf (*Earl Radnor*). Stephen Baudet.
- The Worship of the Golden Calf. Stephen Gantrel; Jean B. de Poilly.
- Joshua vanquishes the Amorites.
- The Plague at Ashdod (*Louvre*). Etienne Picart.
- The Plague at Ashdod (*National Gallery, London*). James Fittler.
- The Triumph of David (*Dulwich Gallery*). Simon François Ravenet.
- The Triumph of David (*Prado Gallery*). Jacob Coelmans

The Judgment of Solomon (*Louvre*). Giovanni Dughet ;
Stephen Gantrel.

The Judgment of Solomon. Jean Pesne.

Bathsheba at the Fountain (Smith's Catalogue, No. 41).

Esther before Ahasuerus.

THE NEW TESTAMENT.

The Annunciation (*Munich*). Pietro del Po.

The Annunciation (*Chantilly Gallery*). Gerard Edelinck.

The Annunciation. Edme Jaurat.

The Nativity (*Munich?*). Pietro del Po.

The Nativity and Adoration of the Shepherds. Jean Pesne.

The Worship of the Shepherds (Smith's Catalogue, No. 55).

Charles Massé.

The Worship of the Shepherds (*Montpellier*). Etienne Picart.

The Worship of the Shepherds (Smith's Catalogue, No. 51).

Stephen Gantrel.

The Worship of the Shepherds (Smith's Catalogue, No. 58).

Guillaume Chateau.

The Worship of the Magi (*Dulwich*). Raphael Morghen.

The Worship of the Magi (the same composition in the

Dresden Gallery).

The Worship of the Magi (*Louvre*). Henri Avice.

The Presentation in the Temple. Louis Garzi.

The Massacre of the Innocents (*Chantilly Gallery*). Giovanni

Folio.

The Massacre of the Innocents. Giovanni Volpato.

The Flight into Egypt (Smith's Catalogue, No. 87). Stephen

Baudet.

The Flight into Egypt (*Dulwich*). Giovanni Dughet.

The Repose in Egypt (*Marquis de Chennevières, Paris*).

Raphael Morghen.

The Repose in Egypt. Stephen Gantrel.

The Virgin, Holy Child and St John. Jean Pesne.

The Virgin, Christ-Child and St. Joseph. Carlo Faucci.

- The Virgin, Christ and Joseph. John Keyse.
 The Virgin, Christ, John and Ten Angels.
 The Virgin, Anna, Joseph and Christ-Child. (*Count Stroganoff's Collection, St. Petersburg*).
 The Virgin, Child, Joseph and John. Guillaume Vallet.
 The Virgin, Child, Joseph and John. Alexander Voet.
 The Virgin, Child, Joseph and John. Giovanni Dughet.
 The Virgin, Child, Joseph and John. Sebastian Voulemont.
 The Virgin, Child, Joseph and Angel. Etienne Picart ; Jean Pesne.
 The Holy Family (*Louvre*). Jean Pesne.
 The Holy Family (*Hermitage*). Giovanni Dughet.
 The Holy Family. Domenico Cunego.
 The Holy Family (Joseph with a Compass). Claudia Stella.
 The Holy Family and Four Angels. Guillaume Vallet.
 The Holy Family (*Louvre*, No. 714). Jean Baptiste de Poilly.
 The Holy Family Angels and Female Saint. Claudia Stella.
 The Holy Family with Six Cherubs (*Duke of Devonshire*). Stephen Baudet.
 The Holy Family, served by Angels (*Duke of Westminster*). Francesco Bartolozzi.
 The Holy Family and Angels (Nineteen Figures). Jean Pesne.
 The Holy Family (*Lord Yarborough*). Jean Baptiste de Poilly.
 The Virgin, Child and Elizabeth. Giovanni Balaestra.
 John Baptizing in the Jordan. Giovanni Dughet ; Gerard Audran.
 The Baptism of Jesus Christ (*see Seven Sacraments*). Jean Pesne.
 The Baptism of Christ (Two Figures). Jean Pesne.
 The Baptism of Christ (Six Figures). Pietro del Po.
 Christ Healing the Sick. Guillaume Chateau.
 Christ and the Woman of Samaria. Jean Pesne.
 Christ healing the Blind Men of Jericho. G. Chateau ; Giovanni Dughet ; G. Audran.
 The Woman taken in Adultery. Gerard Audran.

- Christ's Entrance into Jerusalem. C. P. Landon.
 The Last Supper (*see* Seven Sacraments).
 The Last Supper (*Louvre*). Pierre Lombart.
 The Crucifixion (1646, for M. de Thou). Claudia Stella.
 The Descent from the Cross (*Hermitage Gallery*). Benoit Audran ; Stephen Gantrel.
 The Entombment (Six Figures). Jean Pesne ; Jean Audran.
 The Entombment (*Munich*). Pietro del Po.
 The Entombment. Jean Pesne ; Stephen Gantrel.
 Christ appearing to Mary Magdalene. Pietro del Po.
 The Incredulity of St. Thomas. Gerard Audran.
 Christ's Charge to Peter. Paul Van Somer.
 The Seven Sacraments (*Duke of Rutland*). Giovanni Dughet.
 The Seven Sacraments (*Lord Ellesmere*). Jean Pesne.
 The Assumption of the Virgin. Jean Pesne.
 The Virgin, Child and St. James the Major. Pierre Bouillon.
 The Virgin appearing to St. Françoise. Gerard Audran.
 The Translation of a Saint (*The Assumption?*). Giovanni Dughet.
 SS. Peter and John healing the Impotent Man. Claudia Stella.
 The Death of Sapphira. Jean Pesne.
 Paul and Silas beaten with Rods. Jean Le Paultre.
 Paul and Barnabas before Sergius Paulus. Jean François Cars.
 The Vision of St. Paul. Jean Pesne.
 The Vision of St. Paul (*Louvre*). Jean Pesne.
 The Martyrdom of St. Erasmus. Jean Couvay.
 St. Margaret. C. F. Chaveau.
 St. Cecilia (*Prado*). Jean Couvay.
 The Death of St. Cecilia. Giuseppe Baroni.
 The Miracle of St. Francis Xavier. Stephen Gantrel ; Pierre Drevet.
 The Death of the Virgin.

FRONTISPIECES FOR BOOKS.

For the Bible, Virgil and Horace. Claude Mellan.

ANCIENT HISTORY.

- Achilles among the Daughters of Lycomedes. Jean Pesne.
 Achilles among the Daughters of Lycomedes. Pietro del Po.
 Theseus at Trezene (*Chantilly*).
 Theseus at Trezene (*Uffizi Gallery*). Simon François Ravenet.
 The Testament of Eudamidas. Jean Pesne.
 The Preservation of Pyrrhus. Gerard Audran.
 Alexander at Achilles' Tomb. G. van Houten.
 Romulus and Remus. Claudia Stella.
 The Rape of the Sabines (*Louvre*). Stephen Baudet.
 The Rape of the Sabines (*Sir Richard Colt Hoare, Stourhead*). Jean Audran.
 The Continnence of Scipio. Claude Dubose ; Francis Legat.
 Coriolanus. Gerard Audran.
 The Faeliscian Schoolmaster. Gerard Audran.
 The Death of Philemon. C. P. Landon.
 The Death of Germanicus. Gerard Audran.
 The Plague at Rome. Gerard Audran.
 The Destruction of Jerusalem.
 Roman Charity. Jean Pesne.

ALLEGORICAL SUBJECTS.

- Charity (*Hermitage Gallery*).
 Arcadia. Bernard Picart.
 Arcadian Shepherds. Simon François Ravenet.
 The Image of Human Life. Giov. Dughet ; S. Baudet ; R. Morghen.
 Time bearing away Truth. G. Audran ; R. Morghen ; B. Picart.
 Time removing Truth from Envy and Discord. Giov. Dughet ; S. Baudet.
 Hercules punishing Folly, Ignorance and Envy. C. P. Landon.
 The Inspiration of Anacreon.

POETICAL SUBJECTS.

- Rinaldo and Armida (*Dulwich*). Gerard Audran.
Rinaldo and Armida (*Hermitage Gallery*). John Sanders.
Rinaldo and Armida (*Berlin*).
Tancred and Erminia. John Sanders.

MYTHOLOGICAL SUBJECTS.

- The Nurture of Jupiter (*Dulwich*). Emma Soyer.
The Nurture of Jupiter (*Berlin*). Castellus.
Jupiter and Calisto. Johann Jacob Frey.
Jupiter and Antiope. Bernard Picart.
Jupiter and Leda. Vincenzo Vangeliste.
Apollo and Daphne. Gerard Audran.
Apollo and Daphne. C. F. Chauveau.
Apollo and Daphne. Jean B. Massé.
Venus and Adonis. Richard Earlom.
Venus and Adonis. Jacobus Gole.
Venus and Adonis (*Montpellier*). Pieter Tangé; John Smith.
The Death of Adonis (*Cuen*).
Venus and Mercury. Fabritius Clarus.
Mars, Venus and Loves. Fabritius Clarus.
Mars and Venus (*Louvre*). Maurice Blot.
Venus and Amor. Stephen Baudet.
Venus appearing to Aeneas. Nicolas Loir.
Venus appearing to Aeneas (*Rouen*). Francesco Aquila.
The Birth of Bacchus. Giovanni Dughet.
The Nurture of Bacchus (*Louvre*). Matty Pool.
The Education of Bacchus (*National Gallery, London*).
Bacchus and Ariadne. Nic. Dauphine de Beauvais.
The Triumph of Bacchus (*Earl of Ashburnham*).
A Bacchanalian Festival and Dance (*National Gallery, London*).
A Bacchanalian Revel in Honour of Pan (*National Gallery, London*).

- A Bacchanalian Revel (*Hermitage Gallery*). J. H. Lips.
 A Revel and Sacrifice to Pan (*Prado Gallery*). Phillip P. Roos.
 Bacchanal (*Louvre*). Claude Niquet.
 Nymphs, Satyrs and Fauns. François Langlois.
 A Nymph with Satyrs and Cupids. Phillip Joseph Tassaert.
 A Nymph with Satyrs and Cupids (*Cassel Gallery*). Maurice Blot.
 A Nymph riding on a Goat (*Hermitage Gallery*).
 A Nymph, Cupid and Satyr (*Hermitage Gallery*). Jacob Coelmans.
 A Nymph with a Cupid and a Satyr.
 Silenus (*Prado*).
 Venus and Pan (*Hermitage Gallery*).
 A Sleeping Venus and Satyrs (*National Gallery, London*).
 A Sleeping Nymph and Satyrs. Jean Daullé.
 Venus, Cupid and Faun (*Marquis of Lansdowne*).
 Venus and Cupids (*Dresden*).
 Pan and Syrinx (*Dresden*).
 Mars and Rhea Silvia (*Louvre*).
 The Triumph of Galatea. Jean Pesne.
 Acis and Galatea. Antoine Garnier.
 Phaeton and Apollo. Cesare Fantetti.
 The Triumph of Flora. Gerard Audran.
 The Empire of Flora. Gerard Audran.
 Nymphs at a Bath. Edme Jeaurat.
 Narcissus and Echo (*Louvre*). Gerard Audran.
 Narcissus and Echo (*Dresden*). J. J. Frey.
 Nereids, Cupids, and Sea-Monsters. Antoine Garnier.
 Cephalus and Aurora (*National Gallery, London*). William Holl.
 The Labours of Hercules. Jean Pesne.
 Hercules crowned by Minerva (*Marquis of Bute, Luton House*).
 The Choice of Hercules (*Sir Richard Colt Hoare, Stour-head*). Richard Strange.

- Midas and Bacchus (*Munich*).
 Parnassus. Giovanni Dughet.
 Venus, Love, Bacchus and Mercury dancing to the Music of a
 Lyre. Jean Jacques Avril.
 Children Playing (*Duke of Westminster*). Henri Avice ;
 John Smith.
 The Concert (*Louvre*).
 Cupids Playing (*Hermitage Gallery*).
 Cupids with the Hounds of Adonis (*Hermitage Gallery*).

LANDSCAPES.

- St. Matthew writing his Gospel (*Berlin*). Edward Poitevin.
 Paradise or Spring. Gerard Audran.
 Ruth and Boaz, or Summer. Jean Pesne.
 The Jewish Spies, or Autumn. Jean Pesne.
 The Deluge, or Winter. Gerard Audran.
 The Bier of Phocion (*National Gallery, London*). Stephen
 Baudet.
 Collecting Phocion's Ashes. Stephen Baudet.
 Diogenes. Stephen Baudet.
 Orpheus and Eurydice. Edme Bouvinet.
 Pyramus and Thisbe (*Earl of Ashburnham*). François
 Vivares.
 Polyphemus (*Hermitage Gallery*). Stephen Baudet.
 Hercules and Cacus (*Hermitage Gallery*).
 The Affrighted Traveller. Stephen Baudet.
 A Peasant filling a Vase at a Fountain. Stephen Baudet.
 Two Nymphs watching a Snake (*Chantilly*). Nicolas de
 Poilly.
 Two Women on the Bank of a Stream (*Earl Howe*).
 Three Men in Conversation. Nicolas de Poilly.
 The Gust of Wind and Affrighted Peasants (1650, for M.
 Pointel).
 St. John on the Isle of Patmos. Louis de Chastillon.
 Orion (1650, for M. Passert).

Arcas and Calisto (*Duke of Westminster*).

The Companion (*Duke of Devonshire*).

Nymphs Reposing (*Marquis of Ailesbury*).

Jupiter and Io' (*Lord Ashburton*).

Evening (*Marquis of Bute*).

Three Landscapes (*Pitti Gallery, Florence*).

Three Landscapes (*Chantilly*).

Six Landscapes (*Montpellier*).

Ten Landscapes (*Prado Gallery*).

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